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ABSTRACT

This report examines the impact of certain key features of schooling organizations on student outcomes with specific attention to three key concepts: expectation, evaluation, and reward. Previous research on schooling outcomes is reviewed and complemented by the presentation of a theory (based on Parsonian concepts of social action) of school organization informed by symbolic action theories. Concluding the report is a research agenda wherein questions, strategies, and approaches appropriate for studying this area are examined. (Author/WP)

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EXPECTATION, EVALUATION AND REWARD SYSTEMS IN SCHOOLS

Toward a Theory of Control Of Student Outcomes

by

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This paper has been prepared for the National Institute of Education (Productivity Group). The paper borrows significantly from ideas developed more fully in three papers by the author and William G. Spady, National Institute of Education. These papers are available from the authors and are listed in the References.

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EXPECTATION, EVALUATION AND REWARD SYSTEMS IN SCHOOLS

I. Introduction

The central purpose of this paper is to examine the impact of certain key features of schooling organizations on student outcomes. As the title suggests, three concepts: expectation, evaluation and reward, are the focus of attention. In order to explicate these concepts, however, it will be necessary to introduce a number of other analytic concepts and to integrate them all into a single overall theoretical framework for the analysis of school organizations.

Structurally this paper is divided into three parts. This introductory section contains some preliminary remarks followed by a brief review of a few key findings from previous research on schooling outcomes which serve as points of departure for the theory being developed. The review of these findings makes no pretense of being either comprehensive or exhaustive. Rather, what is intended is the creation of a set of empirically grounded questions, problems and brute facts which are taken as pivotal to the development of a theory of student outcomes.

The principle elements of a theory of school organizations are then presented in Section II. The theory to be presented falls into the general framework of contemporary social action theory (see Parsons, 1951). However, it also examines topics normally addressed only by symbolic interaction theorists and proposes an analytical frame which bridges across the gap between functional action and symbolic interaction social theories. The concepts of social control and task structure, the distinctions between

role and goal formation, and the difference between reward and fulfillment are the pivotal elements of this theory and will be central to its explication.

Once the theoretical framework has been developed, Section III is devoted to preliminary work on the construction of a research agenda based on this theory. Important research questions, strategies and methodological approaches appropriate for studying the major components of the theory are examined, and some guidance for research design is offered.

Some Seminal Findings From Previous Research

Rosenshine (1977) has identified six major correlational studies, reported between 1972 and 1976, relating to the impact of teaching variables on student outcomes: Brophy and Evertson (1974), Soar (1973), Stallings and Kaskowitz (1974), McDonald (1975), Tikunoff, Berliner and Rist (1975), Good and Grouws (1975). In addition to these studies, results from Kounin, et al. (1961), Beez (1970), and Tuinman, et al. (1972) were reviewed for their pertinence and possible contributions to the theory of control to be developed in this paper. Although time and space do not permit a detailed examination of the findings, several general conclusions drawn from these studies provide the points of departure needed for theory construction.

1. Teacher effectiveness involves the "orchestration" of a complex pattern of essentially different activities and cannot be attributed to the effects of single behavior variables.

This conclusion is explicitly articulated by both Brophy and Evertson (1974) and Good and Grouws (1975). In both of these studies, it was demonstrated that in order for teaching activities focused directly on instructional tasks to be effective teachers must also carry-off successfully tasks related

to classroom management, maintenance of positive student self-concept and high expectancy for achievement, among other things. These findings are consonant with those of Lortie (1969) and Pellegrin (1971) who argue that classroom control is an essential pre-requisite of instruction, even though, by itself, it does not lead to student learning.

Any theory which is to explain the impact of schools on student outcomes must take account of the problems of classroom control and the ochestration of complex teacher behavior. Rosenshine and Furst (1971) identify the degree to which a classroom is controlled in such a way as to become "task-oriented" or "business-like" as one of the five most important variables identified in research on teacher impacts. This business-like atmosphere can only arise if the teacher is granted the <u>right</u> to structure students' use of their time, and if at the same time, students achieve a sense of security and freedom from disruption in their work. Otherwise, "business-likeness" gives way to hostile tension or chaos and disorder.

Balanced against the orderliness and businesslike atmosphere, Good and Grouws (1975) emphasize the importance of a <u>relaxed</u> atmosphere which carries the feeling tones of intimate encounter between teachers and students and reflects the presence of psychological acceptance. Soar (1973) elaborates on the need for open, relaxed environments. He explains that an open atmosphere enhances student creativity in learning and argues that too often teachers tend to destroy openness because they do not distinguish between controlling student <u>behavior</u> and controlling their <u>thinking</u> processes. Soar's findings suggest that the relaxed intimate atmosphere recommended by Good and Grouws may only be an ideological tension with the need for close supervision, classroom control and order which support the learning of lower level tasks. If teachers adequately distinguished between student <u>compliance</u> with roles

and norms and student involvement in learning and relating, it may well be true that the best learning environments could have a high level of order and a high level of intimacy. Such an hypothesis is clearly supported by Kounin's (1961) interpretation of the impact of teacher "desist techniques" on the audience-students who watch them being applied. According to Kounin, audience students respond to teacher efforts to maintain supervisory control in ways that clearly suggest a differentiation in impact between teachers who recognized authority is high while their use of actual enforcement powers is low, further, a differentiation between teachers whose authority is accompanied by psychological warmth and those for whom it is not.

2. Students learn what they are taught.

Although this generalization would seem absurdly obvious, it must be remembered that at least since the Coleman Report was issued it has been uncertain whether school instruction makes any significant difference in student learning. The research reviewed is comforting in its assurance that learning rates are positively affected by increased student time on task and reduced inattentiveness (see Rosenshine, 1977) and that they are able to achieve higher test scores if the instruction is directed to the content of the tests (Rosenshine and Furst, 1971).

Not only does the time and attention devoted to instruction have positive effects, but so does the structure and content of the instructional materials and the adoption by the teacher of a systematic instructional strategy (McDonald, 1975).

In relating this generalization to a theory of schooling impact, it is important to keep in mind that the student outcomes being enhanced by these instructional services are those related to test scores which are being used as the dependent variable. This research is demonstrating that measured

achievement in the school can be enhanced by certain instructional structures, just as the instructional process has been shown to depend on adequate supervision.

We must keep in mind, however, the cautionary significance of findings by Truinman, et al. (1972) that test scores can be materially affected by direct payments to students for their performance. This suggest clearly that many students do not accept the testing situation as one to which they should respond with spontaneously high levels of effort. Consequently, it may be that schooling impacts are higher than currently suspected. Perhaps students are learning a great deal more from the instructional program than our current test results suggest but have not found the examination and certification process to be either intrinsically fulfilling or sufficiently rewarding to command their best effort.

3. Teacher feedback and immediate acknowledgement of student progress is helpful in enhancing achievement rates.

Brophy and Evertson (1974) suggest that there is an "optimal error rate" which maximizes student learning. They found that accurate and rapid teacher feedback utilized in conjunction with instructional programs operating at a level of difficulty which creates this error rate yields the best learning. Feedback was also identified by Rosenshine (1977) and Good and Grouws (1975) as a crucial variable. This finding points up the importance of the experience of personal <u>adequacy</u> in keeping students motivated to pursue immediate learning goals. Feeling adequate obviously means an ability to handle the material being learned, but it does not necessarily mean doing so without error. Indeed, adequacy means being able to respond successfully to situations that are <u>challenging</u> not just to ones that are routine. Errors are not the enemy of the adequacy--lack of progress or lack of recognition of progress

toward mastery are the real destroyers of the sense of adequacy.

4. High SES students respond differently to instructional variables than do low SES students.

The Brophy and Evertson (1974) study provides very useful insights into the differences between high SES and low SES student learning patterns. If we make the assumption that the differences between these two groups of students lie in their prior acculturation or socialization in relation to the school (rather than genetic factors), the differences in their respective sensitivity to schooling processes becomes an important indication of the effects of socialization on the nature and extent of schooling impacts on student outcomes. That is, differences in SES effects provide a basis for comparative study of socialization factors as intervening variables in controlling student outcomes.

According to Brophy and Evertson, lower SES students respond better to teaching when: 1) the instructional material is given in smaller more structured units, 2) teachers keep attention focused on a student until he/she get some answer (and provide feedback), 3) instruction is direct rather than indirect, 4) peer tutoring is not used, 5) praise but not criticism is used in evaluation, 6) materials are individualized and 7) teachers demonstrate high expectancy for student learning. Although there is no obvious relationship among these findings, it may be that they all result from global differences in the response of lower SES students to the nature of the school organization. High and low SES student groups may bring very different expectations with them to the school and hence, orient their responses in different ways. The differences in the sensitivity of low SES students to praise and criticism is especially noteworthy in this regard. Low SES students seem to get more out of praise than high SES

students. My hunch is that the reason for this is that praise is an element in the socialization of students rather than in their instruction test performance. The result is that praise is useful in helping low SES students identify with the school as an institution and therefore to increase their likelihood of engaging voluntarily in instruction and test taking. Criticism of academic performance, which is more effective for high SES students, is detrimental to low SES students because their sense of intimate engagement in the school setting is more fragile and therefore less able to withstand failure or rejection.

Summarizing and interpreting the findings just described is extremely difficult. Although these recent studies restore our confidence in the proposition that schooling makes a difference, they do little to explain why or how these differences arise. Characteristically, these correlational studies offer little in the way of pedagogical or organizational theory which can <u>explain</u> rather than merely <u>describe</u> the effects being documented. Before an organized program of research on student outcomes can be given focus and direction, we shall need a <u>theory</u> of schooling which can accomodate the reliable findings already documented, while at the same time directing our attention in a systematic way to the major variables which can be expected to control the nature and extent of schooling impacts on students.

From the research reviewed, it is clear that any comprehensive theory must deal with problems of student supervision and classroom management as well as issues of testing and certification of student achievements, instructional strategies and programs, and approaches to student socialization and acculturation. Furthermore, the needed theory will have to cope with both the internal, subjective experiences of different students as well as the structural elements of school organization and operation.

While it might be possible to build such a theory through extended and detailed reflection on the particular findings presented in prior research and thus build what Glasser and Strauss (1964) call "grounded theory," I am not equipped by either background or temperment for such an attack on the problem. Rather, I propose to develop in the next section of this paper a more abstract and comprehensive theory which, while it will accomadate prior research, has its origins in more general concepts of social action.

II. Theory

1. Social control is the starting point for analysis

Since we are interested in examining the impact of one set of variables (school organizational characteristics) on another (student outcomes) it is important to begin by describing the means by which human behavior comes under control. Only if we have a reasonably clear picture of how individual behavior is connected to social environments in ways that lead to constraint and control can we begin to trace the linkages between organizational systems and personal outcome behaviors.

The theologian, Paul Tillich (1951), argued that the most fundamental statement to be made about human nature is that man is "finite freedom." By this he meant that the individual human actor was a center of independence and originative capacity, but that the ability to invent or originate action is constrained by the material and historical situation within which each person acts. Though fleeting fancies might move unrestrained across the landscape of our imagination, the power to race across a physical or social landscape in the real, concrete world depends on the strength of our legs and our wills

as well as the resistance of the obstacles encountered. Both inner strength and outer resistance are created by the fact that human life is embodied in material substance and historical experience.

The sociological or political science corrollary to Tillich's argument is that man is, and can be, subjected to limited control through the manipulation of the material and experiential elements which serve as his resources for action. Planning and exercising this power for limited control is the essence of what social policy makers and organizational administrators do on a day to day basis. Exploring expanding and capitalizing on the potentials inherent in the finite freedom which co-exists with limited control is the objective of both individual personal action and the therapeutic and instructional activities of the social professions. Since schools involve organizational administration and policy-making as well as professional or semi-professional instruction and therapy, control of behavior in these institutions must be approached on both the personal or interpersonal and the structural or organizational levels.

One can, of course, accept the sociological corrollary of limited control without either accepting, or even being interested in, Tillich's proposition of finite freedom. It is possible to believe that control is finite only because of limited social scientific knowledge about the mechanisms of control or the processes for employing these mechanisms to secure desired results. And it is possible to see professional and instructional activities as matters of micro-level control which differs in strategy but not in goal from macro-level control operating through organizational rather than interpersonal processes. The framework being presented here, however, is based on the assumption that the interpersonal

processes characteristic of the teacher/student or the professional/client relationship should, and generally do, have as their objectives the expansion of the finite freedom rather than the imposition of the limited control. It is not my purpose here to argue the validity or necessity of this assumption, but only to indicate the perspective from which the theory of control to be presented here is developed. Most, if not all, of what I have to say about social control could be meaningfully adopted by those who assume that the limitations on control are scientific (i.e., derive from the state of the art) rather than ontological (springing from the nature of man). Such a shift in perspective would, however, significantly alter the mood or tenor of the argument, and might lead to quite different strategies for future research or public and organizational policy.

2. The exploration of control: bases, mechanisms, and effects.

There are three possible ways to approach the study of social control. First, it is possible to examine the <u>bases for control</u> in order to reveal what factors determine whether a particular social situation will result in reduced variability in an individual's behavior, or will instead serve as an opportunity for expanding variability and a resulting uncertainty in our ability to predict what an individual will do. The concepts of authority, power, persuasion and exchange are central for interpreting the bases of social control. There are two points regarding these bases for control on which the literature is far from clear. First, there are sharply divergent views to be found regarding the relationships between the four bases for control. And second, the linkage between the individual actor and each of the fundamental bases is not easily

recognized. A discussion of the concepts of expectation and attribution will be developed so as to provide the needed theoretical perspective from which to resolve these problems.

The second approach to control is through the study of its effects on the structure of behavior. Controlled behavior is identified either in terms of the specific units of action which constitute organized behavior (in which case we refer task performance control) or by reference to the internal characteristics of the individual whose behavior is being controlled (in which case we can talk about role definition and goal adoption).

A third way of approaching the problem of social control is to study its mechanisms. By examining the specific linkages between an individual and a social situation or organization which serves to limit or control his actions we are able to understand how control processes work. Two pairs of concepts are central to the study of control mechanisms: reward/sanction and frustration/fulfillment. The mechanisms of control are not independent of the bases. As I will argue, authority based control operates through fulfillment/frustration experiences, while power-based control works through rewards and sanctions.

We will discuss each of these three approaches to control in order, and try to synthesize a unified theory of social control so as to be able to identify the relationships between the processes of control and student outcomes from schooling.

3. Four bases of social control: confusion in the literature

The literature on social control identifies four basic mechanisms of control. The work of Max Weber (1946, 1947) still stands as the most important and provocative treatment of the concepts of power and

authority as separate bases of influence or control over individual behavior. Blau and Scott (1962), in developing an analysis of control include persuasion along with power and authority as a primary vehicle of constraint. And Blau (1964) subsequently formalized the analysis of exchange as a fourth primary basis for exerting control.

Delineating the operational characteristics these four primary vehicles for exerting control have proven to be a complex and difficult process. Two essentially different and conflicting views concerning the relationship between power and authority can be found in the literature, while perspectives on persuasion and exchange depend on a choice between these two views. The first view, developed quite effectively in the recent work of Dornbusch and Scott (1975), sees power as the more fundamental concept and describes authority in relationship to the existence of social power. From this perspective power follows Weber's conception as "...the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance..." (1947:52). The existence of this probability of control is seen to arise from the fact that the powerful person possesses critical resources with which he can reward and/or sanction the behavior of those whom he subordinates to his will. Because the subordinate desires the rewards or fears the sanctions the powerful person is able to exert control, and the magnitude of his power to control is dependent directly upon the extent of his resources and the relative value which subordinates place on their use.

For theorists like Dornbusch and Scott, who view power as the primary basis of control, authority represents the legitimation and routinization of power. That is, authority represents both a limitation on the conditions under which a person exercises power and an enhancement of the effectiveness

of power resources used under these conditions. According to this view, whenever the social system authorizes a power wielder to exercise his will to control others the power which he exercises is viewed as "legitimate" and hence his control is called authority rather than power-based. From this theoretical viewpoint the difference between power and authority derives from the social system and concerns whether or not the power used is justified by the norms of the system. Dornbusch and Scott helpfully discuss the difference between the justification of power from above the power wielders' positions through authorization and justification arising from among the subordinates which they call "endorsement." Regardless of the source of the justification, however, this viewpoint maintains that control is based on the power resources available for the superordinate to use in bringing about a modification of the subordinate's behavior. Power differs from authority only in the disappearance from analysis of the question of the legitimacy in the use of these resources.

The view just outlined is the dominant one in political science and probably also in sociology. It presents at least three unresolved problems, however, and must finally be rejected as an appropriate basis for analyzing the control of behavior in such organizations as schools.

The first problem with the power-based concept for authority presented by Dornbusch and Scott is illustrated by the fact that it is always meaningful to speak of one's power resources, but that it is not meaningful to speak of authority resources in the same sense. If the power dominated theory adequately explained authority common discourse would not attribute authority to the character of the superordinate and power to the resources at his disposal. It is a simple social fact, however, that the person

with authority can gain or lose his authority without regard to his capacity to reward or punish the subordinate. Authority, in contrast with power, creates a bond between superordinate and subordinate which is derived from experiential qualities within the relationship rather than a calculation of the consequences which will flow from it.

This difference between the intrinsic qualities of authority and power experiences is the second problem unresolved by the power dominated theory illustrated in Dornbusch and Scott (1975). The definition of power on which their theory is built assumes the existence of actual or potential resistance on the part of the subordinate to the exercise of power and authority. Very often, however, individuals control their behavior voluntarily and spontaneously in response to the wishes and desires of others. While the concepts of positive reward and conditioned response can be utilized to account for this widespread occurence of controlled behavior which is devoid of resistance, it is equally plausible to suggest that human beings find certain kinds of social relationships to be intrinsically fulfilling and that they voluntarily and spontaneously seek out situations in which these relationships can be established and maintained. If so, it could be argued that the difference between power and authority based control rests on the distinction between intrinsically fulfilling experiences and extrinsically rewarding ones.

A third problem not properly handled by power-dominated approaches to authority definition concerns the distinction between those experiences which create or transform the relationships between actors in a social system and those which merely give concrete expression to relationships already established and defined. To paraphase Tillich's treatment of this problem in another context: for the most part we grasp and shape

our experiences, interpreting them in terms of previously apprehended meanings, and using them to move toward already established purposes and goals; but from time to time we encounter experiences which grasp and shape us, giving us new meanings and new purposes to pursue. The difference between these experiences is related to the difference between power and authority. The assessment of a person's power depends upon the existence of stability in the meanings each actor associates with the power resources used by a superordinate to control a subordinate's behavior. In an authority-based relationship, subordinates are able to change their evaluative orientation toward rewards and sanctions, and anticipate new types of rewarding experiences. Again, I am fully aware that the closed set of assumptions which constitute operant conditioning psychological theory (encountered in schooling as behavior modification theory) account for the experiences being described here by treating them as illustory and irrelevant for a theory of control. There is, however, an alternative theory of authority which sees these experiences as pivotal to social control processes and interprets the relationship between authority and power in terms of their significance in the control process.

The second approach to power and authority found within political and sociological theory not only overcomes the three problems discussed, but also provides a more powerful (though more complex) theory of social control. This second theory, illustrated in the works of Arendt (1958), Nisbet (1966), and Bell (1975), treats authority as the primary basis for social control and sees power as derivative from the more fundamental authority-based relationships. From the perspective of this theory, authoritative social control is not imposed by the superordinate. Rather, it is voluntarily embraced, intrinsically fulfilling, and personally

legitimated by both the subordinate and the superordinate through significant engagement in the interaction between them and by the sustaining or transforming effect which the authority relationship has on the enduring meanings and orientations of the participants.

In the view of this theory, power-based control, rather than being primary, actually depends upon encounters with authority. The emergence of power-based control from authority experiences follows a process something like that described by Freud (1905) as "displacement." He suggested that, because of the material and emotional nature of man, personal fulfillment (or trauma) derived from a relationship is actually experienced only through concrete actions and objects which take on symbolic values or significant meaning as embodiments of the deeper relationship. The fact that fulfillment experiences create these symbols means that it is possible to shift one's attention away from the intrinsic qualities of the fulfillment itself and onto the pleasures (or pains) associated with the symbols and which come to represent the experience. Once this happens the symbols stand as surrogates for the experience leaving the individual susceptible to control by anyone who can provide or withhold the surrogate symbols, regardless of whether or not they provide the more basic fulfillment (or frustration) experiences. Hence social power arises as the by-product of an ability to control these symbolic resources and depends, in both a logical and historical sense, on a person's prior experience with and sensitivity to the personally meaningful experiences established through authority relationships.

If, as the foregoing discussion suggests, authority is the primary basis for social control and power is derived from it by displacement from intrinsic experience to the outward symbols which individuals have

learned to associate with these intrinsically fulfilling authority experiences, what is the relationship between these bases of control and the processes of persuasion and exchange? The key to answering this question lies in the realization that while both authority and power imply the existance of a clearly superordinate-subordinate relationship, persuasion and exchange connote a more symmetrical relationship between social equals. The lack of subordination of one actor to another in the persuasion and exchange processes, however, is the result of the fact that both parties have authority and/or power resources, not from the disappearance of these more fundamental bases for control altogether. In fact, persuasion and exchange are best seen as descriptions of just those situations of mutual control in which each party to the social interaction brings a different mode of power or authority to bear on the other.

Persuasion, for example, shares with authority the fact that it is grounded in legitimacy derived from personal fulfillment in the absence of implied or threatened sanctioning or rewarding. That is, a person is persuaded when he comes to believe that the control on his behavior being urged by another is intrinsically purposeful and "for his own good." Persuasion is required when direct authority is lacking, but it is possible when the persuader has, nonetheless, acquired a substitute basis for being viewed as a legitimate source of control. If the persuader has no legitimate standing as a source of fulfillment he will be forced to rely on the manipulation of power resources rather than persuasion for control.

Exchange arises in those situations in which neither party possesses or responds to authority, but both have control over significant power

resources. Under these circumstances each party agrees to produce the rewards or withhold the sanctions which are desired by the other. Hence exchange arises when individuals possess different modes or types of power and are able to provide mutually attractive resources to each other.

The relationships described between authority, power, persuasion and exchange are presented graphically in Figure 1. As this figure suggests, the displacement from intrinsic experience to the symbols of that experience moves the basis of control from authority to power and the displacement from one mode or type of authority experience to another moves the control basis from authority to persuasion. Simultaneous displacement involving both symbol and mode yields a mutual control process characterized by exchange.

4. Authority is the key to controlling school performance and outcomes.

If the foregoing analysis of the relationships between the four fundamental bases of social control is essentially correct the importance of authority in creating and maintaing the involvement of teachers and students with each other and with the operational structures of the school cannot be overemphasized. Ever since Waller's (1932) seminal work, virtually every serious observer of the school has recognized the difficulties of engaging students who are compelled to attend the school in the engrossing, involving, and fulfilling relationships with teachers and peers which will lead them to voluntarily control their own behavior so as to pursue the social and learning goals of the school program. The control of student behavior is at the center of the schooling process, but to be educationally effective in transforming the meanings and orientations

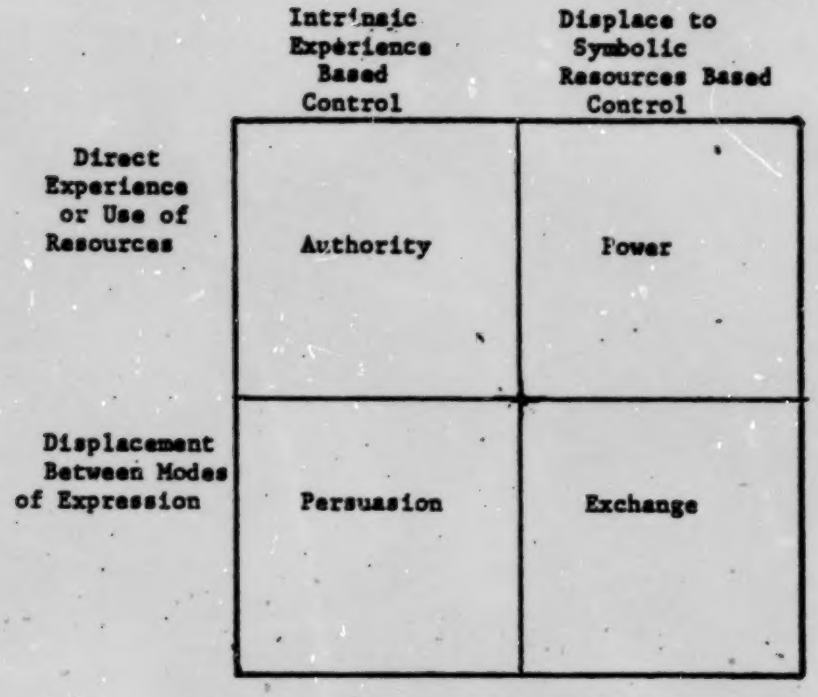

FIGURE 1

BASES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

of the students this control must create the social conditions under which students actively pursue learning opportunities for themselves. This implies that authority, not power, must be the dominant basis for control, and that the use of power, exchange, and/or persuasion must be used judiciously and sparingly so as to support and enhance the operation of authority based mechanisms, not supplant or interfere with them.

5. Authority arises in four basic modes: tradition, charisma, legality and expertise.

Since authority is the primary basis of social control, and the other mechanisms are derived from it, an analysis of the alternative modes or types of control will begin with an understanding of the alternative modes of authority. Once again, Weber's (1946, 1947) works contain the classical formulation from which all modern analyses of authority begins. Once again, also, a lack of clarity in his work has contributed to a considerable diversity among contemporary interpretations. Space does not permit a thorough re-capitulation and critique of Weber's work in this paper. Such an analysis is developed in Spady and Mitchell (1977), and the reader is refered to that paper for a fuller treatment of this topic. The major conclusion to be drawn from this analysis was that there are four distinct modes of social authority: tradition, charisma, legality, and expertise. Moreover, these four modes of authority represent a <u>system</u> in the sense that they reflect the solution to each of four fundamental social control problems. That is, these four modes of authority arise in the context of social control relationships which may involve either warm, affective bonding or cool,

rational differentiation between actors. Simultaneously, control relationships are referenced either to the personal, individual qualities of actors who achieve direct authority or to broader institutional characteristics which confer authority more indirectly. Hence, as shown in Figure 2, traditional and charismatic authority serve to generate the warm affective bonds which are characteristic of what Weber called Gemeinschaft communities. Traditions bond individuals to social institutions and charisma bonds them to other individuals. Legality and Expertise, by contrast, serve as the rationalizing, differentiating modes of authority, controlling behavior by establishing the legitimacy of rules (legal authority) and knowledge (expert authority) as the bases for constraining behavior in the type of community which Weber characterized with the term Gesellschaft.

6. Power resources also arise in four modalities, one derived from each of the authority modes.

Also shown in Figure 2 are the four modes of power derived by symbolic displacement from each of the authority modes. Moral power resources arise because social traditions, once accepted, carry a basis for individuals to value each other's behavior and to form moral judgements about the propriety and legitimacy of actions which are not directly experienced. These moral judgements play an important part in shaping how members of a society treat each other and hence cause individuals to control or modify their behavior so as to avoid moral condemnation or shame and win moral approval or honor.

Psychological power is derived from charismatic authority. This power arises because individuals who desire the intimacy and warmth of

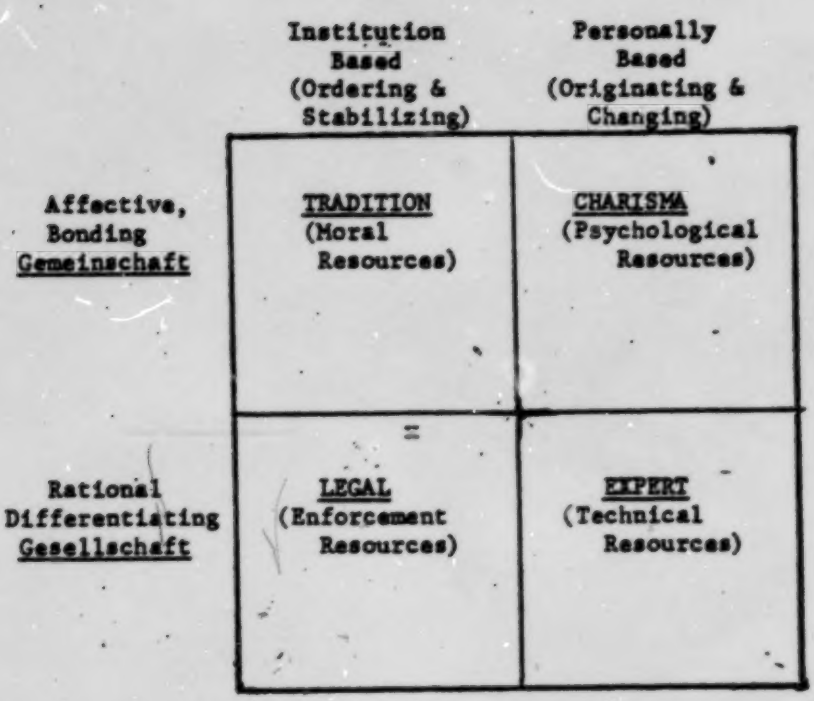

FIGURE 2

MODES OF AUTHORITY
(AND POWER)
IN THE CONTROL OF
SOCIAL ACTION SYSTEMS

a charismatic bond will modify their behavior in ways which they hope will make them acceptable to those with whom they seek to establish an intimate relationship. Knowing this, a person who is psychologically attractive as a potential source of charismatic encounter can manipulate the symbols of acceptance and rejection in order to get others to comply with his wishes.

Enforcement powers are derived from legal authority. Because the society embraces legal rules and norms it builds social institutions with the power to coerce compliance with those rules on the part of individuals who would not otherwise accept them. These enforcement powers retain their legitimacy so long as most members of the society continue to embrace the legal rules being enforced. Even without social legitimacy, some individuals are able to coerce others into accepting their definition of the rules governing behavior.

Technical powers are the natural result of embodying expert knowledge in the natural social and material world. The technical powers to achieve results are not, however, dependent upon the technical power wielder himself having any expertise. The technical power of the gun or of radio communications sharply alters the level of control which one person can exert over others in a social situation, whether the person using it knows electronics and metal working technologies or not.

7. Linkages between the individual actor and the four modes of authority are created through the processes of <u>expectation</u> and <u>attribution.</u>

Perhaps the most difficult problem confronting any theory of social control is the development of an adequate explanation of how individual

actors come to be engaged in action systems characterized by rhythms of stability and change which are apparently unrelated to the personal commitments, desires or even understanding of individual participants. Social theory seems to be hopelessly split between macro-level theories which are concerned with the processes of order and change in social collectivities and micro-level theories which are concerned with the ordering of individual experience and the engagement of individuals with each other and with social structures. Macro-level theories illustrated by the functionalism of Parsons (1937, 1951, 1966,1971) and Merton (1949, 1967, 1968) or the Systems theory of Buckley (1967) and Easton (1965) emphasize the need to explain the existence of social structures and processes which transcend individuals and tend therefore to be interested in individual behavior only as it represents compliance and involvement, or deviance and disengagement from these macro-level structures or processes. Micro-level theories are characteristic of social psychology and are generally dependent upon assumptions which a theorist makes about the nature of human psychology. These theories focus attention on how individuals come to establish or change regular patterns of personal action and perceptions and enter into larger social structures. These theories tend to assume that large scale social structures are merely the aggregated effects of individual behavior. Although behavior modification theories rooted in Skinner's (1953) operant conditioning psychology have become quite popular in recent years, symbolic interactionist theory based upon the work of George Herbert Mead (1934, 1938) and developed by such theorists as Blumer (1969), Strauss (1964), and Rose (1962) represents the most important and most complex form of micro-level social theory.

The disjunction between these two different approaches to the explanatory social action and interaction has resulted in a situation in which

one group of analysts study how large-scale groups and organizations are functionally structured and what the correlates of structural variation are, while another group studies how individuals come to engage in structured action systems and attempts to discover the effects of engagement on the individual. This division of labor, which at first glance may seem appropriate, has resulted in an inability to explain schooling outcomes because the relevant outcomes are individually referenced while the important causes of those outcomes are structural and organizational. That is, theories of schooling are in the unenviable position of being able to discuss student learning only in psychological terms which are generally unrelated to the way schools teach and are able to discuss school organizational and teaching actions only in ways that are largely unrelated to our knowledge about student learning. Hence the recommendations of learning theorists for reform or innovation in teaching appear vaguely irrelevant and inoperable to teachers while the programs and innovations proposed by organizational theorists have produced a dismal history of "no significant difference" findings when tested for effects on student learning.

The only real hope for progress in explaining student outcomes is to insist on the development of a set of theoretical concepts which can be applied to both organizational structures and individual actions without changing their meanings. The concept of social control, which was explored above, is one such concept. Authority, power, persuasion and exchange are bases for personal interaction when seen from the perspective of the individual and bases of structural stability or change when seen in their organizational context.

The concepts of expectation and attribution represent two further points of tangency between individually referenced and collectivity referenced theories of social action. While control theory is more

obviously an important part of functional action theory, expectation and attribution are more readily recognized as individual psychological processes. Consequently, in discussing the bases for control, the personal and experiential foundations for authority and its derivatives were emphasized. By contrast, the organizational and functional consequences of expectation and attribution will be dominant here.

As a psychological construct, expectation has been used in two quite different contexts. Gestalt psychologists, such as Wertheimer (1923), use the concept of expectation to describe an important facet of the process of perception. In this connection, expectation or psychological "set" has been used to explain how individuals are able to integrate fragmentary or even contradictory perceptual clues into complete perceptual objects. In a related, but distinguishable body of work, expectation has been studied as a factor controlling the relationships between teachers and students. Rosenthal (colloquium presentation, 1976) reports that in the last decade more than 800 studies of the effects of teacher expectations regarding students capabilities have been undertaken. The evidence from these studies exhaustively supports the belief that teacher expectations serve not only to provide an integrative element in their perceptions of students, but, more importantly, to control the nature and distribution of teaching effort in the classroom. Although research undertaken by Yoshida (1975) strongly supports a belief that teacher expectations are significantly related to actual student behavior and are not as subject to external manipulation as earlier work presumed, he does not challenge the tremendous impact of these expectations on teacher behavior.

For our purposes, the important point of these investigations into the psychological phenomenon of expectation is not just that it is an important factor in shaping individual perception but that it is

also intimately associated with the control of a person's actions.

Sociological and political theorists have also been concerned with the concept of expectation. Parsons (1951:5), for example, says that:

> It is a fundamental property of action...that it does not consist only of ad hoc 'responses' to particular situational 'stimuli' but that the actor develops a system of 'expectations' relative to the various objects of the situation ...various elements of the situation come to have special 'meanings' for ego as 'signs' or 'symbols' which become relevant to the organization of his expectation system...When symbolic systems which can mediate communication have emerged, we may speak of the beginnings of a 'culture' which becomes part of the action systems of the relevant actors.

It is this expectation system which, in Parsons' view, turns behavior into action and creates the vital linkage between the individual and the social order within which he acts. Herbert Simon (1953) discusses the role of expectations as a factor in the development of political authority and power. Although he embraces the theory of power which treats authority as merely the legitimation or routinization of power, his reworks on expectation are helpful in understanding how important this psychological process is in shaping stable social structures. For Simon, like Parsons, expectation systems are organized and serve a primary role in connecting the individual to the social order. Simon concludes that "revolution involves, above all, a change in...expectations" (1953:515), which cause the linkages between individuals and the larger social system to be reorganized, leading to an end of some control bases and the establishment of new ones.

Unfortunately, both the psychological and the sociological or political literature on expectations generally fails to adequately distinguish between two quite different types or levels of expectation which every actor brings to bear on his action orientations. Expectations serve to not only orient an actor to the nature of the

social system within which he is acting by providing a "map" of the social situation, they also serve to assess the significance of various potential actions by enabling the actor to anticipate the consequences of his own action. In other words, expectations serve to describe both the meanings which the social order has "in itself" and the meanings which it has "for me." It is this dual function which enables the expectation system to link the individual actor to the collective social structure. By attributing meaning to the social system "in itself" expectations cause (permit) the individual to see the social order as a structured objective arena for action in the way functionalist social theory describes it. By assigning meanings to the social action situation "for me" expectations lead an actor to perceive the world as an arena of personal opportunity for interaction in the way symbolic interaction theorists approch it. The central point, however, is that these expectations exist as a single system--the shifting perspective arises from differences in the relationship between the actor and his expectations, not from differences in the content of the expectations themselves.

If the foregoing discussion is taken as the point of departure for an analysis of expectation systems, we should be able to build an analytic framework which sees every concrete expectation as fitting simultaneously into two different descriptive taxonomies: one related to its contribution to a description of the social action system in itself and one related to its contribution to the significance of possible action alternatives for the actor. Once conceptualized in this way, the existing expectations for school organizations are surprisingly easy to identify and describe systematically.

To discover the systems of expectations regarding what the school is "in itself" we need to ask two questions: what does society expect from

the schools? And, what is expected from the members of the school organization as a basis for their participation in it? On the question of what society expects, most observers insist that expectations for schooling by various sub-groups within a society are always diverse and often contradictory (see, for example, Neibuhr, 1932; Weber, 1946; or Marcuse, 1964). However the actual structuring of school organizations embodies particular expectations which reflect the dominance of some groups' expectations over others. As suggested by the works of various revisionist historians (e.g., Katz, 1971; Greer, 1972; or Tyack, 1974) it is possible to infer which groups' expectations have been actually embodied in a school system by an analysis of the historical origins and current/institutional arrangement of its forms. An overview of this literature suggests that societal expectations for the schools have involved four basic elements. These four elements concern what students are expected to acquire during their schooling years from involvement with educational institutions. First, students are expected to acquire competency in the performance of various social functions and roles (especially the economic roles of producer and consumer). Second, students are expected to acquire a degree of social responsibility in their relationships with both individuals and institutions so as to assure the maintenance of the ongoing social order. Third, they are expected to achieve social integration in the sense of a personal involvement with the social order and an ability to establish meaningful interpersonal relationships and to acquire a sense of personal worth and significance in life. Finally, society expects the schools to produce or facilitate the intellectual, emotional and physical development of its students so that they reach their fullest potential both as individuals and as members of society.

The distribution of relative emphasis on these four basic expectations varies from one social group to another and from one historical period to another. The emergence of a "Competency Based Education" movement in recent years, for example, has sought to shift emphasis away from development and social integration and toward the acquisition of competencies.

By shifting the frame of reference it is possible to describe the nature of the expectations regarding the schools as a matter of expectations regarding the organizational structures and functional operations of the school. From this perspective, functionalist theory identifies two sources of tension and conflict which every organization is expected to resolve in its day to day operations. First, every organization is expected to maintain itself through the development of internal integrity in its operations while also generating suitable productive outcomes or results from those operations. If the organization maintains itself but is unproductive it is viewed as wasteful and ineffective; if it achieves but cannot maintain itself it becomes inefficient, damaging to its members, or ceases to exist altogether.

A second tension which every organization is expected to resolve is between the development of compliance with the procedures and standards of the organization and the establishment of spontaneous and satisfying involvement of the organizational members in both the maintenance of the organization and the reaching of its productive goals. This tension crosscuts the first, posing for the organization four specific expectational domains: developing 1) involvement in organizational maintenance (which leads to the development of socialization structures within the organization), as well as, 2) involvement in organizational productivity goals (which is the basis for the creation of instructional structures in

the school), and securing 3) compliance with internal organizational routines and procedures (which gives rise to the need for supervision structures), as well as, 4) compliance with the standards and norms of productive effort (which calls for the creation of certification structures to evaluate the productivity of organizational participants).

A few moments' reflection will reveal that the four expectational domains associated with the organizational character of schooling institutions are intimately connected with the four societal level expectations described above. As suggested by the placement of these concepts on Figure 3, social responsibility (a societal expectation) involves compliance with norms and routines in the society, and is expected to result from an adequate adjustment by students to the supervision structures of the school. Similarly, social integration is expected to arise from participation in the school's socialization structures, development is the expected result of instruction, and students who qualify for certification within the school are expected to become competent in the process of doing so. Figure 3 is intended to suggest, therefore, that the various societal expectations for student outcomes are correlated (at least in principle) with the organizational expectations which arise naturally and must be realized if social institutions are to be both stable and productive. The concepts presented on Figure 3 will be recognized as ones compatible with functionalist, collectivity-referenced, social theory.

Of course, participants within the school respond not only to their own version of the system of societal and organizational expectations regarding the schools, they also have personal expectations regarding what can or should result from participation within the action system of the school. Each member of the school organization (students as well

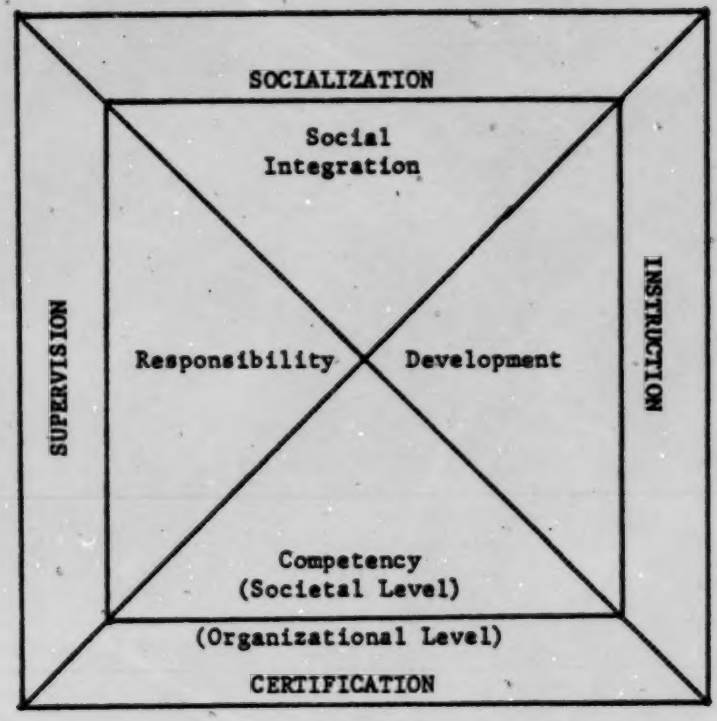

FIGURE 3

SOCIETAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL
EXPECTATIONS OF THE SCHOOL

as staff) responds to his own personal system of expectations for participation as well as the societal and organizational expectations which he recognizes and accepts. There are two meaningful but qualitatively different contributions which participation in an organization can produce for an individual and which therefore serve as the basis for personal expectations. First, participation in the organization may give rise to a sense of personal fulfillment through experiences which are intrinsically satisfying. Secondly, participation may fall short of fulfillment but may be found to be rewarding by providing valuable tangible or symbolic benefits. There are four different qualities or types of fulfillment experience which may arise from organizational participation: 1) both psychic and physical security may be realized for the individual by creating order and dependability in organizational relationships, 2) a sense of worth may be created by providing a stable pattern of values and traditions which permits an individual to evaluate himself, 3) experiences of intimacy are provided by an organization by creating opportunities for spontaneous and authentic encounter between individual members, and 4) a sense of personal adequacy can arise for organization members by providing opportunities for them to employ skills or knowledge in the pursuit of socially valued goals.

When organizational membership falls short of these fulfillment experiences, it may still provide important personal rewards. Expectations regarding the possible rewards which may flow from an organization arise in bi-polar pairs, one pole representing positive incentives or rewards while the other pole involves negative sanctions or punishments. There are four basic bi-polar expectations regarding organizational rewards: 1) honor/shame which are created when the organizations publicly value the individual participant, 2) autonomy/coercion which result from the relationship of

the individual to the enforcement powers of the organization, 3) potency/manipulation which depend on the individual's access to the technical and material resources of the organization, and 4) acceptance/rejection which arise in the relationship of the individual to other organizational members.

Figure 4 graphically presents the sets of personal expectations which participants use to orient themselves to the significant possibilities for fulfillment and/or reward within the action system of the school. As suggested by the arrangement of terms in this figure, there is a parallelism between the various expectations for fulfillment and the expectations regarding rewards and sanctions. Honor and shame represent the external symbols associated with the sense of personal worth, acceptance and rejection are the outward signs of intimacy, autonomy and coercion arise in the context of security, and potency or manipulation are connected with experiences of personal adequacy. The relationships between expectations for fulfillment and reward are identical with the relationships between the authority-based and power-based control processes discussed in the previous sub-section. When the participant in an organization expects fulfillment he experiences the organization as authoritative; when he expects rewards or sanctions he experiences the organization as powerful.

The psychological phenomenom of attribution describes the connection between the authority and power modalities described as the bases for control and the experiences of fulfillment and reward or sanction just discussed. By attribution the perceiving individual moves beyond a descriptive summary of his previous experiences and makes assertions about the intrinsic character of the persons or social structures being experienced. (See Jones, et al., 1972, for an excellent discussion of attribution theory.) By attribution the individual moves from an experience of intimacy with another person to a belief that the other person possesses those extra-

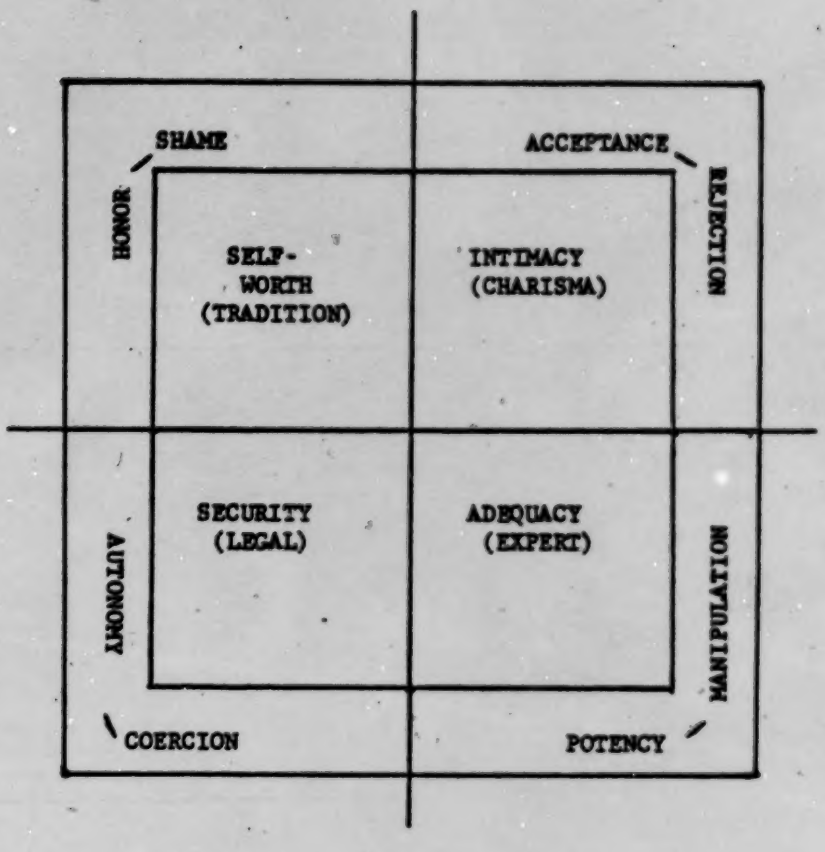

FIGURE 4

PERSONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR FULFILLMENT
OR REWARD FROM PARTICIPATION IN THE SCHOOL

ordinary gifts of grace which we call charisma. Similarly, experiences of self-worth lead one to accept as real and important the norms and traditions of the institutions within which the experiences arise. Experiencing security makes it possible to attribute authority to the laws and rules of an institution and experiencing adequacy produces the basis for an attribution of significant expertise to the sources of one's knowledge and skill.

It is important to keep in mind that an attribution of power is qualitatively quite different from an attribution of authority. The fact that an individual discovers that he is effectively honored or shamed within a social institution may lead him to attribute to institutional actors power to control moral resources, but he may not find that these moral sanctions contribute to his sense of worth and hence not embrace the authority of the institutional traditions. Similarly, accepting the power of other actors to distribute psychological, contractual or technical rewards and sanctions does not depend on accepting the charismatic, legal or expert authority of those who control these resources.

Since the specific expectations and attributions of power and authority which an individual brings to bear on his actions consist of a unified set which can be viewed alternately as describing the social action system "in itself" and the assessment of the meaning of the action system "for me" it is appropriate to juxtapose the expectational system presented in Figure 3 and the one found in Figure 4. To do so we need only recognize that the system of societal and organizational expectations involve the combined effects of various pairs of personal expectations (and vice versa). For example, the expectation that the school will produce students who have a sense of social responsibility by providing them with adequate supervision structures is directly

related to the student's personal expectations for a sense of worth and security within the school institution. Similarly, expectations for social integration through socialization are seen by the students as a matter of achieving personal worth and interpersonal intimacy within the school. Expectations for development through instruction involve students' expectations for spontaneous intimacy and the fulfillment of personal adequacy. And finally, expectations for certifiable competency depend on students finding themselves both secure about the validity of the certification requirements and adequate to the performances required for certification. Hence the merger of Figures 3 and 4 produce the relationships presented in Figure 5.

8. Expectations regarding fulfillment or reward and attributions of authority and power create the structuring of tasks and the definitions roles and goals within the school organization.

The abstract theoretical assertion that organizational control operates through expectations for fulfillment and/or reward and the underlying set of attributions of authority and/or power is too diffuse to be helpful in the study of actual organizations. The complex profusion of activity which constitutes the real action system of any particular organization must be divided into meaningful units so that the impact of the control processes on particular activities can be analyzed. Organizational literature attacks this problem from two perspectives. One group of theorists (such as Charters, 1964) identifies the basic analytic unit of behavior as a "task." Task analysis sees the behavior of organizational participants as structured units which have common patterns regardless of which particular member of the organization is performing them, and which are

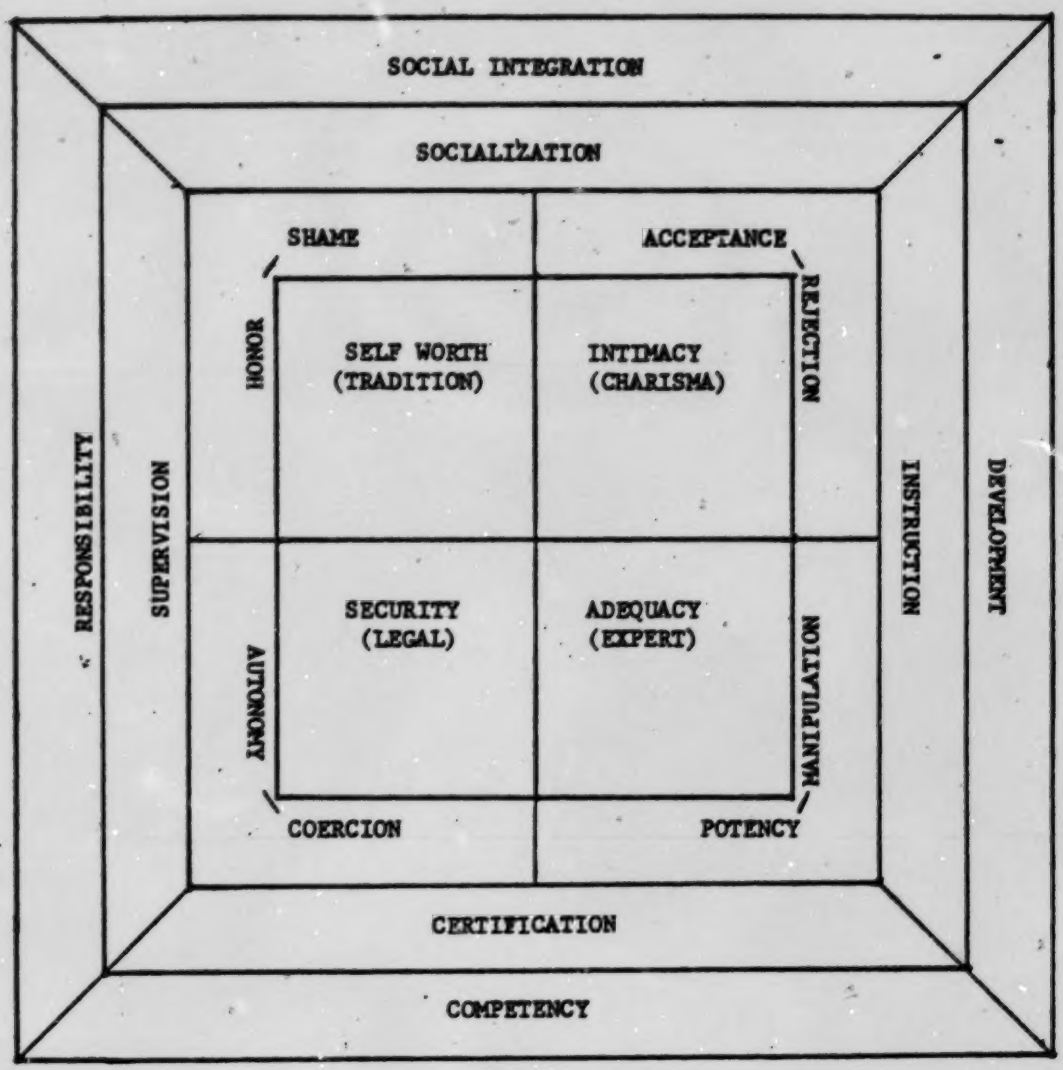

FIGURE 5

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERSONAL, ORGANIZATIONAL
AND SOCIETAL EXPECTATIONS FOR SCHOOLS

repeatedly performed in the process of either maintaining the organization or contributing to its productive outputs. Once the essential elements of the organizational task structure have been identified, it is possible to study both how the performance of these tasks contributes to successful maintenance or productivity and how individual organization participants are rewarded or fulfilled in the process of performing their tasks. An organization would be expected to be stable and productive if those tasks most important to its functioning are most fulfilling and/or most rewarding to the members. Conversely, if members find their tasks frustrating, are negatively sanctioned for their performance, or find dysfunctional task activities more rewarding, the prognosis for the organization is dismal.

From a theoretical point of view, the fundamental tasks for an organization should be defined as those patterns of activity which contribute to one and only one organizational function and which are experienced as rewarding and/or fulfilling on the basis of one and only one mode of power or authority. If the theory being presented here is adequate to account for school organizational behavior, there are eight basic tasks required for the successful operation of schools, one pair of tasks associated with each of the four societally and organizationally referenced functional expectations (i.e., responsibility/supervision, integration/socialization, development/instruction, and competency/certification). Further, as was suggested in the discussion of Figure 5, these same eight tasks should also be grouped into pairs of tasks which are responsive to each of the four personal expectations which underlie the four fundamental modes of authority and power.

Figure 6 presents the descriptive labels for the eight basic school

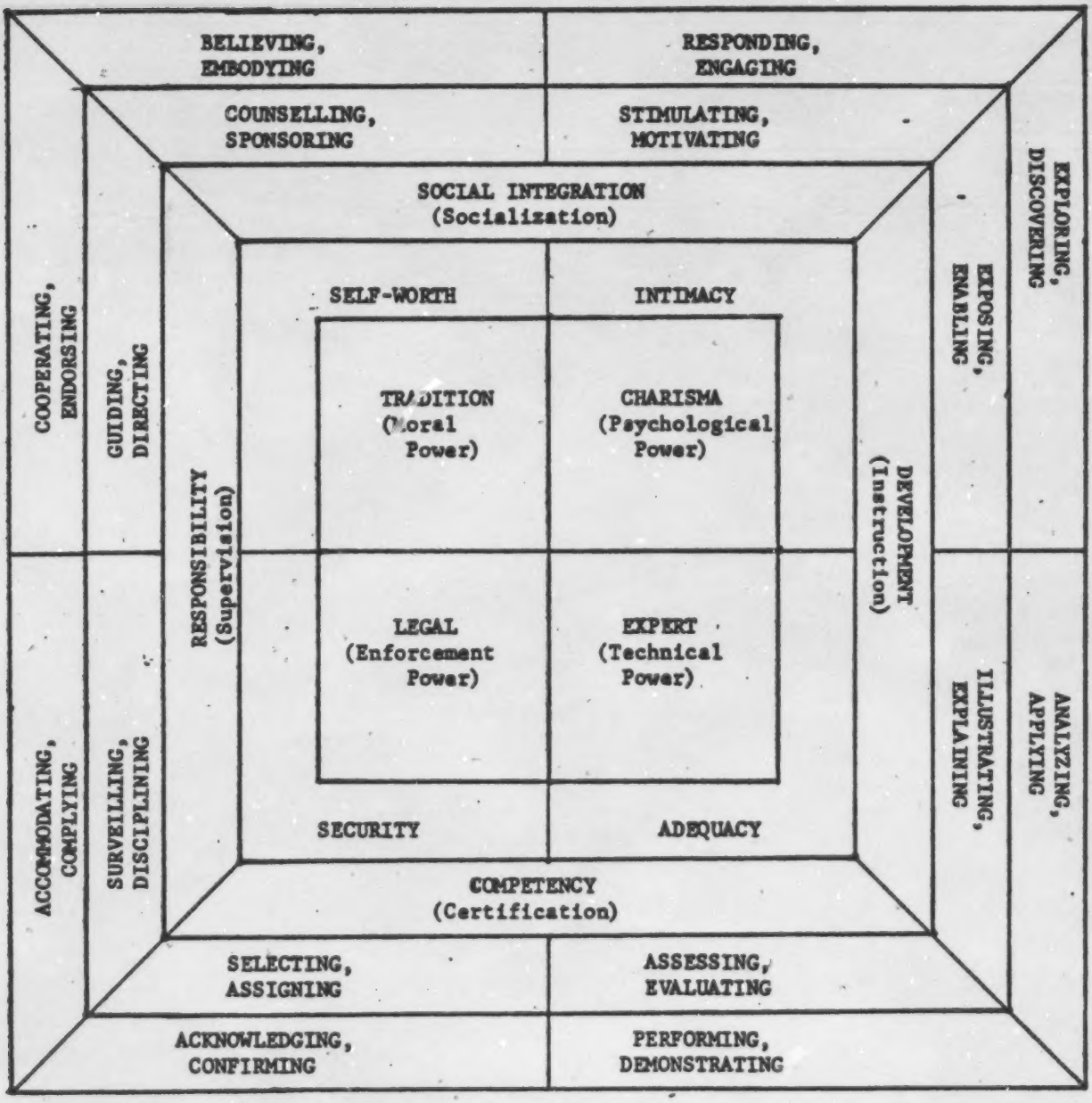

FIGURE 6

THE SYSTEM OF SCHOOLING TASKS

tasks which correspond to the four functional expectations (in the outer most layer) and a similar set of labels for these same eight tasks as they appear to the students who must respond to them in terms of personal expectations for fulfillment and/or reward (in the second layer). Reproduced at the center of Figure 6 are the concepts presented in Figure 5 representing the overlapping sets of personal, organizational and societal expectations which characteristically underlie the formation of school organizations and the authority and power modalities which are attributed to the schools as sources of fulfillment and/or rewards.

At the top of Figure 6 the tasks of Counselling/Sponsoring and Stimulating/Motivating are shown as the essential elements of the schools' socialization structures which support the schools' achievement of social integration for its students. Students respond to these tasks by themselves performing the tasks of Believing in/Embodying social norms and Responding to/Engaging in social relationships found within the school. As suggested by the figure, the Believing/Embodying activities of students are controlled and supported by the tradition based experiences of self-worth and the rewards or sanctions associated with honor and shame. The processes of Responding to/Engaging in social relationships, by contrast, are controlled by the distribution of charisma based intimacy or the sanctioning power of acceptance and rejection.

What is being asserted here is that the motivation of the school policy-makers and staff members to respond to societal expectations for creating social integration gives rise to tasks viewed from the perspective of the organization as relating to the involvement of students in the school and their socialization into the acceptance of the norms and traditions of the school which are thought to reflect those of the society.

Such an approach was the basis of Dewey's (1966) concept of the school as a "reconstruction" of the societal community for the purpose of introducing the young into the social system of the adult society in a controlled and preliminary way for the purpose of transforming them into integrated members of the community. The theory being developed here suggests, however, that the students will respond to these expectations, and the tasks performed to realize them, in large measure on the basis of their own personal expectations for the realization of self-worth and interpersonal intimacy or for securing the rewards of honor and acceptance while avoiding shame and rejection. As they mature, of course, the initial distinctions between societal and organizational expectations on the one hand and personal expectations on the other will hopefully be diminished and students will come to expect for themselves the same social integration which is initially expected for them, and thus come to derive self-worth and intimacy from their identity as participating members of the school organization. If this happens, the students will attribute authority and power not just to individual members of the school staff, but to the school itself as a social institution.

What has been said about the social integration based school socialization structures applies in a similar way to the functions of supervision, instruction and certification. The supervision function is accomplished through the tasks of Surveilling/Disciplining and Guiding/Directing students. Effective performance of the guiding/directing task calls forth a student task of Cooperating with/Endorsing the norms and traditions of the school which form the basis for supervisory direction. The act of cooperation or endorsement of these traditions or norms, of

course, is motivated by the student's expectations for self-worth and honor and controlled by the attribution to the school of either traditional authority or moral power. In this respect, student responses to supervision are similar to their responses to socialization. The validity of school demands for student support for the continued maintenance of the school must be grounded on either his acceptance of the authoritative legitimacy of the traditional values and norms embodied within the organizations or on his willingness to attribute power and efficacy to the school system's ability to distribute the sanctions of honor and shame.

Effective performance of the other supervisory task, Surveilling/Disciplining calls for student responses of a quite different type. Student acceptance of this aspect of supervision is based on an experience of security (rooted in legal authority) or on a sensitivity to the sanctioning power of the school to produce autonomy or coercion. The acceptance of either the authority or power basis for this task leads the students to respond by Accomodating/Complying with the rules and procedures specified by supervisory personnel.

The development of social responsibility through compliance with the schools' supervisory structures is roughly what Emile Durkheim (1961) was recommending as the essential basis for schooling in his book Moral Education. In his view, the societal expectation for citizens who could accept social responsibility and limit their own unbounded desires was the essential purpose of schooling and his view of discipline reflects his belief that social responsibility is to be realized through the effective operation of school supervision structures. It should be noted that the authority modes which are required for this are the two

which are properties attributed to institutions themselves (legality and tradition) rather than those attributed to individual members of various social institutions (charisma and expertise). In keeping with this fact, Durkheim's theories of schooling stressed its institutional properties and operations and not the personal characteristics of its teachers or administrators.

The realization of competency through school certification structures depends on the performance of the two tasks: Selecting/Assigning and Assessing/Evaluating of students by staff members. The selection and assignment of students is closely associated with the supervisory function in that it depends upon the use of legal authority or the effective power to control students by promises of autonomy and/or by threats of direct coercion. Students respond to the adequate performance of the Selecting/Assigning task by Acknowledging/Confirming the propriety of their assignment. They make this response on the basis of the fact they they experience a fulfilling sense of security or because they thereby avoid coercion and achieve autonomy.

Assessing/Evaluating student performances constitutes the other major task embodied in school certification structures. Performance of this task is, of course, dependent upon students Performing/Demonstrating the knowledges and skills which are to be evaluated. Both the staff evaluating task and the student performing task, therefore, depend on an expectation by students that the school will be able to deliever either fulfillment experiences associated with personal adequacy and depending upon the attribution of expert authority to staff members or rewards associated with potency and dependent upon attributing technical power to the schools certification procedures. That is, students must be able to feel either

that certification by the school is based on an accurate assessment of their ability to utilize the skills and knowledges which they need to adequately realize their own purposes and goals, or else they must believe that the school really can enhance or damage their life chances in order to be expected to comply with requests to demonstrate their knowledge within a certification (i.e., testing) context. This suggests that it is not safe to assume that just because the school gives tests all students do their best to score well on them. As Tuinman (1972) has demonstrated, student performance on examinations can be significantly improved if they are paid for their performance. The motivating power of such payments strongly suggests that students do not always attribute either authority or power to the school's certification structures, and therefore may fail to be certified because of a failure to perform rather than because of any lack of knowledge or skill.

A note is in order about the connection between societal expectations for student competency and the emergent expectations within the school organization for students to comply with the certification structures which are used for assessing/evaluating their performance demonstrations of knowledge and skills so as to select/assign them to further educational or post-schooling opportunities. While the theories of Dewey (1966) and Durkheim (1961) seem to be specifically directed to the relationships of social integration and responsibility to schooling structures, no comparable theories argue that certification will produce competency. In fact some spokesmen for the currently popular "Competency Based Education" movement seem to believe that instructional rather than certification practices are the object of reform. Any examination of the legislation, policy guidelines, and specific programs adopted under the general rubric

of competency-based education, however, quickly reveals that the major concern in these programs is with the re-design of testing and certification procedures, not with identifiable changes in instruction. Clearly the competency-based education movement is based on the assumption that if the attention of school staff and students is fixed on certification of competencies there will be a natural and inevitable reorganization of the instructional program to optimize the successful certification of student achievements. Hence it is quite appropriate, even if not intuitively obvious, to conclude that the societal expectation for competency among its children gives rise to the school's organizational expectation that students will comply with the demands of a system of certification structures and processes.

That schools develop expectations regarding instruction in response to societal expectations for child development is perhaps the most obvious relationship between the organizational and societal expectations which control the schools' action system. The press for individual development has been deeply ingrained in curricular theory during all of the twentieth century. The writings of Horace Mann (1849) and the theories of Froebel (see Forest, 1927) regarding the kindergarten are but two classic examples of this developmental theory of instruction. As shown in Figure 6, the basic instructional tasks are Exposing/Enabling student access to the important dimensions of the curriculum and Illustrating/Explaining the skills and ideas which are to be learned from it. Students, if they find personal fulfillment or are rewarded for doing so, respond by Exploring/Discovering what the teacher and the curriculum have to offer and by Analyzing/Applying the physical, intellectual and affective concepts and skills which they are learning.

It will be easily recognized that getting students involved in discovery and exploration depends on giving the instructional process a quality of excitement which is closely associated with the fulfilling sense of intimacy which springs from encounters with charismatic authority. While rewarding children who explore and discover with acceptance and sanctioning the non-participative children with rejection can have some effect on their exposure, in the long run this may lead to a total withdrawal from the school as a legitimate organization rather than a systematic learning experience.

In order for students to accept teacher explanations and try to analyze or apply knowledge for themselves they must find either personal fulfillment derived from the sense of adequacy arising when expert authority is experienced or the rewarding feeling of potency arising from being able to control such technical power resources as information and materiel.

Both the expert authority and technical power which support the didactic teaching tasks and the charisma and psychological power resources which support and control the more facilitative aspects of instruction are more dependent upon the personal qualities of individual teachers than on the organizational or structural properties of the school as an institution. This is, no doubt, one basic reason why teaching remains a labor intensive industry and the work of the teacher is carried out largely "behind the classroom door" unconnected with the work of other professionals and largely uninspected by supervisors or parents.

To summarize: the controlling effects of authority-based fulfillment experiences and/or power-based rewards is focused on clusters of activity which are called tasks. These tasks are structured such that they respond simultaneously to the societal and organizational sets of expectations for

schooling and the personal expectations which orient and motivate the participation of students. As a result, we can identify eight basic tasks being performed by school staff members and a reciprocal set of eight student response tasks. These tasks can be paired in relation to the four functional societal and organizational expectations, or they can be paired in relation to the four fundamental fulfillment and reward expectancies which underlie student perceptions of authority and power. Viewed in this way, it becomes apparent that the presence or absence of various modes of authority and power for the members of the school staff can drastically affect the ability of the school to realize the various fundamental expectations which form the basis for its existence and represent the foundations on which societal evaluation of schooling outcomes will be based.

A second theoretical approach to the clustering of activities into meaningful units for analysis and control focuses on the actors rather than the activities themselves. From the perspective of the social actor there are two basic mechanisms through which activities are organized and structured into meaningful patterns which are aimed at the realization of expectations: 1) role definitions and 2) goal pursuits. These two concepts form the bedrock upon which much analysis of behavior within organizations is based. A brief review of how these concepts are related to organizational behavior and how they relate to authority and power will help to frame a perspective from which it is possible to account for the relationship between school organizational characteristics and student outcomes.

There are two essentially different approaches to the problem of role definition to be found in the literature. One, illustrated by the

work of Gross, et al (1958) sees roles as the normatively held "behavioral expectations" for the occupant of a focal role held by incumbents of other roles who interact with this focal person. This approach adopts the orientation of individually-referenced, symbolic interaction theory, and leads to a picture of social roles as the system of typical or average expectations each person experiences in his relations with others.

A second approach to role definition emphasizes the division of a complex organization into patterned segments each of which corresponds to the position of an organizational participant. This perspective, adopted by Parsons (1951), gives a clearer picture of how organizational behavior is segmented into the role behavior of its various members, but it does so at the expense of explaining how individuals adopt these roles for themselves. The dilemma in role analysis is that one approach makes it easier to explain individual actions but hard to show that these individual actions will constitute an organized whole, while the other approach maintains the integrity of the organization but leaves us uncertain as to the engagement of individuals in the organization.

The problem would, of course, disappear if role behavior exhausted the regularities of each person's actions. That is, if all our patterned actions were role-based, then the apparent gap between the two approaches to role analysis would gradually be resolved by a fuller and fuller analysis of organized behavior system. As Ralph Turner (1962) has so aptly argued, however, human action is responsive to goal choice as well as to role structuring. That is, an individual may reject or ignore some role expectations in order to meaningfully pursue his goal objectives. If he does so his behavior will appear to be disorganized and perhaps

even dysfunctional from the perspective of his role in a social organization, but may well be easily explained in terms of his goals.

Of course, merely knowing that behavior may be either goal-based or role-based does not help much unless we can begin to discover when it will respond to one rather than the other control mechanism. Toward that end, I would offer two propositions which, if true, would go far in providing a basis for an integrated theory of roles and goals in social action. First: in contrast with task structures which are sensitive to both power and authority, role definition and goal specification are controlled only by authority and are not controlled by the manipulation of power resources. Secondly: the authority modalities which control role definitions (legality and charisma) are different from those which control goal specifications (tradition and expertise).

The sensitivity of role and goal structures to authority rather than power based control is a fairly straight forward proposition and will be recognized as intuitively true in an exchange-based situation in which individual actors are trading their respective power resources. In the market place, a bargain is struck on the basis of the reward value of the resources to be traded, not on the basis of any alteration of either the goals or the role behavior of the participants. In fact, the operation of power-based control depends on a subordinate having fairly specific goals and being oriented to fairly well defined roles already present within the social action system in order to perform the needed calculation of the reward/sanction probabilities associated with his actions.

Although the repeated use of power resources to sanction or reward particular behavior patterns may build up habitual responses, it remains problematic whether these conditioned responses should be considered

roles in the sense in which role theory uses that term, and the objectives of the conditioned response actions are clearly the goals of the superordinate and not the subordinate. If the concepts of role and goals are to have any meaning beyond conditioned reflexes, they must imply the development of intention, desire, and capacity for flexible choice among action alternatives among role incumbents and goal directed actors.

It is authority which, as was argued earlier, provides the basis for confirming and/or transforming an actor's orientations and meanings. And it is this confirming/transforming effect of an authority relationship which gives rise to a choice of roles and/or goals on the part of an individual actor. A look at the effect of the four specific authority modalities will help to clarify this assertion.

Legal and charismatic authority serve as the basis for role definition while tradition and expertise serve to control goal specification and adoption. Legal authority serves to define the formal roles or positions which are offered to members of an organization. In order to occupy one of these roles, an individual must identify his own security with the security of the organizational role structure and must attempt to regulate his behavior to fit within the positional role parameters. That is, the reason that individuals are willing to undertake self-regulation, comply with rules and become routinized, orderly, and accountable in their relations with others is because this gives rise to an inward sense of personal security and integrity and an appreciation of the orderliness of others.

Charismatic authority operates to define roles of quite a different sort. Charisma serves to involve individuals in those authentic, affective,

intimate encounters which create social bonding between them. Charisma thus specifies the informal relationships between members of an organization which are characterized by spontaneous, expressive actions ordered or structured by interpersonal bonds rather than by specific rules. In order to accept an informal role an individual must attribute charismatic authority to other members of the organization and to thus modify his behavior in order to establish the expected intimate or friendly relationship with them on which the attribution of authority is based.

The formal roles created by legal authority serve to separate and differentiate members of an organization and confer upon them the right to expect certain behavior of others and the duty to comply with role expectations themselves. The definition of these roles is vitally important to the creation of any social organization in which some members are to retain jurisdiction over the behavior of others. These role definitions provide each participant with a sense of security in that they specify both the rights of others and the limits of those rights. These formal roles are the basis of a judicial system which operates by testing whether various organizational members were "within their rights and duties" as defined by the formal roles.

The informal roles created by charismatic authority can never be adjudicated in a court of law or codified into a set of prescriptive rules. They serve, however, to overcome the de-personalizing thrust of formal organization and to create a basis for involvement within the organization. The rights and duties created by informal, charisma-based, roles are always uniquely related to specific personal relationships. They are nonetheless real and binding, however, and create severe tension in an organization if they are not accepted and fulfilled.

While legal and charismatic authority control action by shaping the system of rights and duties among the members of an organization which we call roles, tradition and expertise serve to specify the legitimate purposes or goals which are to be realized through any given course of action. Traditional authority conveys the sense of personal worth which is associated with the ultimate life-goals which an individual adopts for himself. Traditions are concerned less with the outcomes of each particular action choice which one makes, and more with the overall contribution which is being made to the central purposes of the culture or the organization within which one acts. Expertise, by contrast, shapes our ability to see the ends of particular and immediate actions and serves to specify the goals and objectives of particular courses of action. Since the concept of work is closely associated with this choice and intentional pursuit of particular action goals, we could refer to the impact of expert authority as controlling the adoption of work-goals.

There is, of course, some connection between life-goals and work-goals. One's sense of worth arising from a contribution to tradition-referenced life-goals depends on having enough expertise to identify and pursue the specific work-goals which support the life-goals commitments. A lack of the needed expertise will usually lead one to either modify his life-goals or engage in the learning activities needed to enhance his expertise. Similarly, having a body of expertise at one's disposal may or may not lead to the pursuite of significant life-goals. The presence of expertise without tradition can be recognized as dangerous for a culture or organization. The central terror of the American "Watergate" experience lies in the discovery of the existence of expertise, unbridled by traditional values, at the core of the government.

Tradition, like charisma, serves as a social bonding mechanism and gives rise to goals which are collectively referenced. Expertise, like legal authority, has a differentiating impact and gives rise to goals which are personal and individualistic.

The terms presented in Figure 7 summarize the relationships between the four modalities of authority and the formation of personal and organizational roles and goals. As suggested by this figure, the experience of self-worth underlies the adoption of life-goals; intimacy experiences support informal roles; security leads to an acceptance of formal roles, and personal adequacy is experienced in the acceptance of work-goals. Futhermore, as suggested by the terms in the outermost layer of this figure, the system of organizational structures which are created in response to societal expectations regarding schooling crosscut the system of roles and goals so that each functional structure is supported by both a role and a goal element. The schools' supervision structures, for example, are supported by the creation of formal roles and the adoption of life-goals. That is, supervision depends upon the development of clear rules which delineate the rights and obligations of each organizational position and also on the identification by individual participants of personal life-goals which can be realized through participation in the organization. If the connection between personal life-goals and organizational supervision breaks down, the participant will feel trapped by the organization and will withdraw from voluntary participation. If, on the other hand, the formal roles are not clearly defined the individual members will become uncertain about how they are to behave, and conflict over the best way to pursue various goals will ensue.

Similarly, socialization requires the establishment of informal

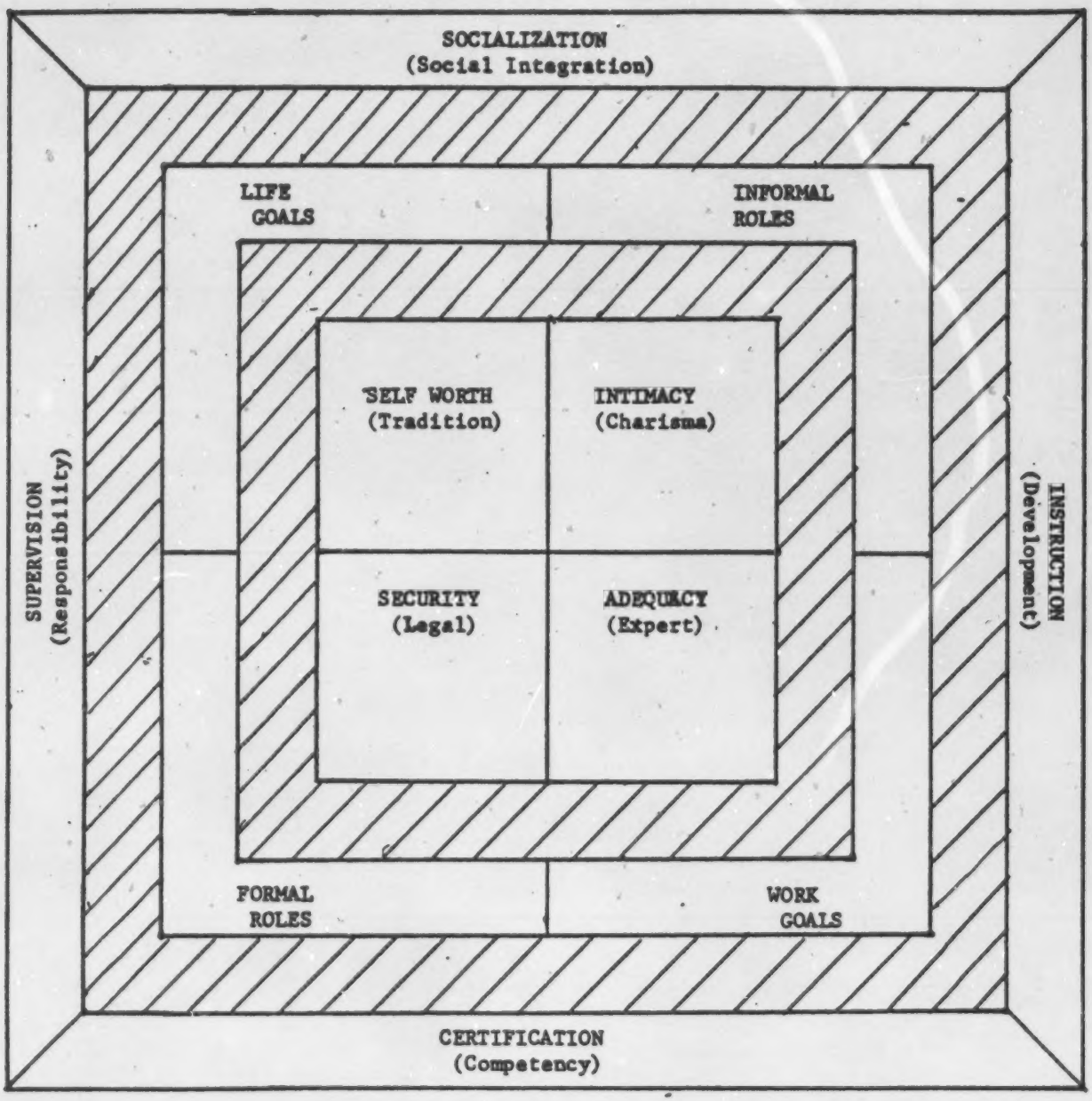

FIGURE 7

THE SYSTEM OF ROLES AND GOALS
IN SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS

intimate relationships based on charismatic warmth along with the identification of meaningful life-goals which can be seen as manifested within the socializing culture or organization. Instruction, as the literature makes abundantly evident, depends for its operation on the creation of warm, intimate informal teacher-student role relationships and also clearly specified, expertly delineated work-goals to be pursued within the curriculum. And finally, the development and stabilization of certification structures requires the creation and acceptance of specific formal roles which assign to teachers the right to evaluate student performance as well as establishing the responsibility of students to perform when called upon. Certification structures also require teachers to have and apply expert based evaluation criteria in setting performance goals for students and students to utilize their own expertise to identify the procedures and goals of their certification behavior.

9. The operational mechanisms which control behavior within the school are fulfillment/frustration experiences and the distribution of rewards or sanctions.

The foregoing analysis has been leading to the conclusion that the control of schooling outcomes is dependent upon controlling the probability that students (and teachers) will find their activities either intrinsically fulfilling (or frustrating) or extrinsically rewarding (or sanctioning). I have been arguing that controls based on the four fundamental authority modalities will operate through the creation of fulfillment experiences and will affect behavior by defining either the roles or the goals toward which each organization member's behavior is directed. Once the role and goal bases of behavior have been identified,

each member of the organization can be expected to voluntarily pursue the line of behavior (i.e., tasks) which are compatible with the roles or goals adopted.

The four basic power modalities, however, operate directly on task behavior and are not mediated through role and goal specifications. Hence power-based control has the advantage of being more immediate, specific and universal in its effects. Authority-based control requires the active response of the subordinate who may or may not immediately accept the legitimacy of the superordinate and therefore may or may not modify his behavior in the expected manner.

In the previous sections of this paper the four specific, role and goal related, fulfillment experiences (worthiness, intimacy, security, and adequacy) have been briefly described. The task related rewards and sanctions derived from the basic power resources have not yet been presented, however. Figure 8 presents the descriptive labels for the system of rewards and sanctions which the theory being developed in this paper would expect to control the eight specific tasks previously described.

The rewards and sanctions derived from moral power resources (which spring from tradition) include: Recognition/Esteem, Approval/Praise, Denunciation, and Ridicule. The positive rewards convey honor and the negative sanctions are used to shame people into acting in accordance with moral norms. Recognition or denunciation can be used to control student responses to supervisory guidance and direction. Praise or ridicule serve the socialization function by controlling students' responses to counseling and sponsorship.

Psychological power which is derived from charismatic authority may be manifested in the provision of social Attachments/Relationships,

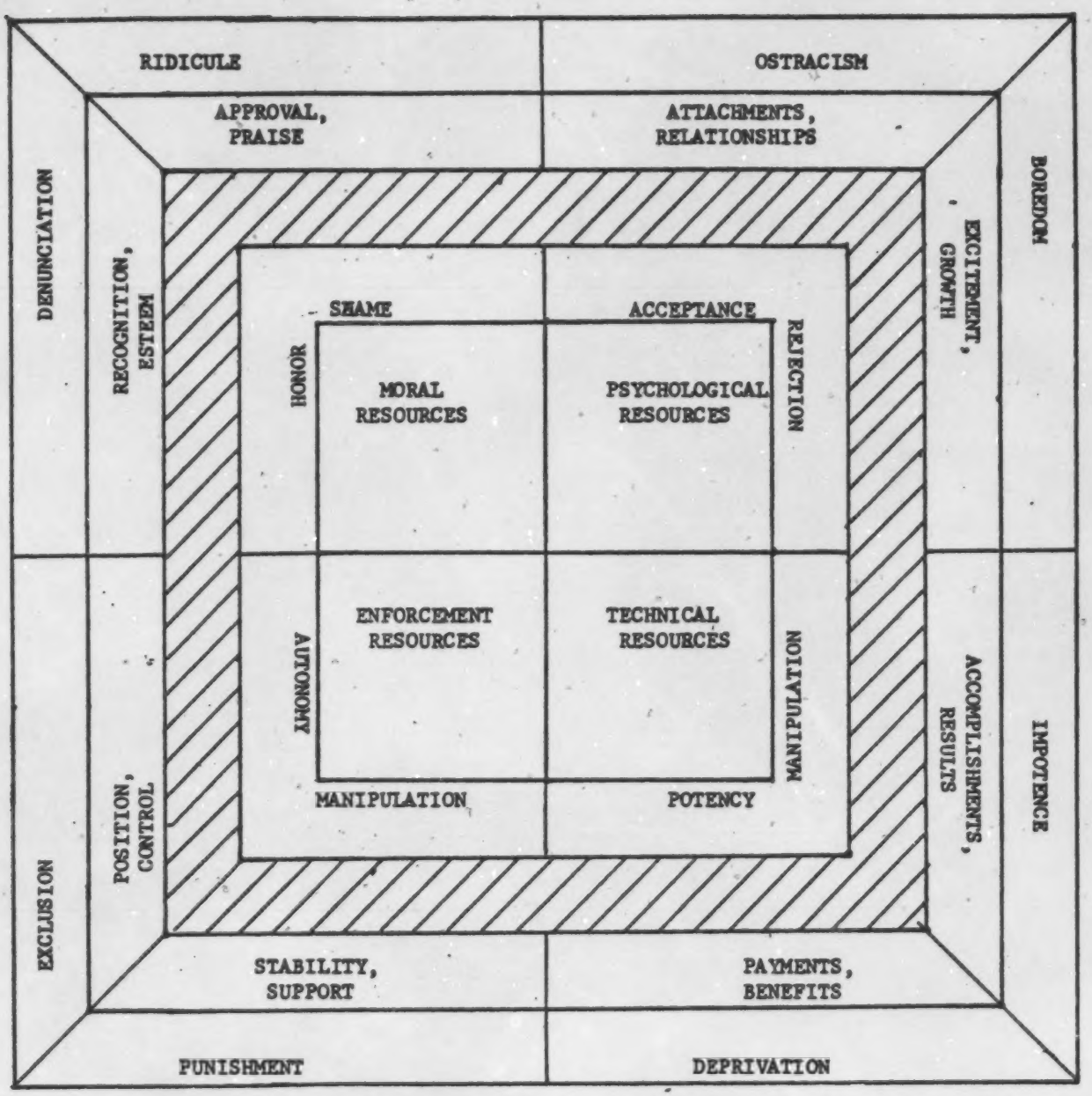

FIGURE 8

THE SYSTEM OF REWARDS AND SANCTIONS
USED IN SCHOOLS

opportunities for Excitement/Growth, direct Ostracism or Boredom. Psychological acceptance is communicated by the positive rewards, and rejection by the negative sanctions. Attachment or ostracism serve the socialization function by helping to control students' responses to the teacher's personal efforts to motivate and stimulate them. Excitement and Boredom provide the sanctions associated with students' willingness to explore and discover the instructional curriculum.

Technical resources, derived from expert authority, include the capacity to produce Accomplishments/Results, the delivery of Payments/Benefits (in the form of grades, opportunities, salaries or other valued commodities), the Deprivation of opportunities and resources, or rendering a student Impotent to cope with the work demanded of him. Provision and deprivation of benefits closely supports the certification process by making the effects of student performance tangible and real, while the rewarding effects of achievement and the punishing effect of impotence are closely associated with the knowledge and skill application task pursued through instructional structures.

Enforcement powers, which are generated from legal authority, include the rewards of advancement in Position/Control and provision for Stability/Support of the working conditions which a subordinate has available to him, and the sanctions of Exclusion and Punishment for engaging in activities which are not valued by superordinates. Advancement or increated responsibility and control are offered as rewards to persons who respond well to supervision, and exclusion is the punishment used to control those who refuse to accept supervisory directions. Support and stability are offered to those who respond appropriately to demands for certification

while punishments of various types are meted out to those who refuse to comply with the rules for certification.

10. Evaluation creates the motives for exercising authority and/or power based control over the behavior of organizational participants.

Implied throughout the foregoing discussion has been the assumption that the exercise of authority and power are intentional acts by superordinates for the purpose of controlling subordinate behavior. Some process of evaluation is required to motivate and direct the use of this intentional capacity. The theory of authority and power presented here suggests that there are two key dimensions to the evaluation processes which affect the distribution of the fulfillment experiences and the rewards or sanctions which control organizational behavior. First, authority-based evaluation will need to be distinguished from that which is power based. The evaluation of one actor by another when rooted in authority is directed to the role or goal based character of the other person's action, not just to the specific actions which are displayed. When the distribution of rewards or sanctions is at stake, however, evaluation is undertaken from a power-based orientation, and the object of evaluation is the specific task performance of the person being evaluated.

Once the initial distinctions between power and authority based evaluation is made, the evaluative process is focused on the specific tasks or the specific functional or interactive role and goal structures which are being evaluated and thus is directed by the use of the appropriate authority modality or the appropriate power resource. In other words, using traditional authority to evaluate a person's life-goals gives rise to a relationship which either enhances or diminishes the

subordinate's self-worth. When moral power resources are at stake, a display of cooperative behavior which endorses the supervisory rules and regulations will be responded to with an act of recognition or esteem as the person being evaluated is honored by those in power.

Figure 9 presents a summary of the theoretical concepts presented in this paper. It reproduces the major elements of argument which has been developed throughout this section, indicating something of the complexities of the relationship between the concepts of expectation, evaluation and reward in the schools, especially as these concepts may be related to the development of student outcomes. In the next section of this paper, I will attempt to sketch out the major components of a research agenda based on the theory just presented.

III. Toward A Theory Based Research Agenda

Developing a research agenda based on a theoretical framework as complex as the one presented here is not a simple task. There are many more possibilities for research derived from this theory than one could enumerate, much less fully describe in the space available here. Two things are needed in order to build a meaningful research agenda based on the theory offered in the previous sections. First, we need a basis for setting research priorities. That is, we need a basis for distinguishing significant research possiblities from ones which are trivial. Secondly, we need to make some methodological choices so as to give concrete practical guidance for research design. Neither priority settings nor methodological choices are specified or implied in the theory itself. They are, instead, derived from a consideration of the costs and relative importance of knowledge based on the theory.

FIGURE 9

A SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR ELEMENTS IN A THEORY OF CONTROL

1. Bases of Control:	Authority/Persuasion	Power/Exchange
2. Modes of Control:	Tradition Charisma Legal Expert	Moral Psychological Enforcement Technical
3. Links to Individuals:	Expectations: Societal Organizational Personal Attribution: Authority	Expectations: Societal Organizational Personal Attribution: Power
4. Mechanisms of Control:	Fulfillment/Fructration Experiences	Rewards/Sanctions Distribution
5. Structures of Control:	Roles/Goals	Tasks
6. Criteria for Evaluation:	Are Roles and Goals properly embraced and effort being put forth?	Is behavior on Task and successful?

In discussing a research agenda, I want to first explore the general problem of priority setting. I will treat the issue of methodological focus in relation to several specific recommendations for high priority research which will be described briefly once the priority setting problem has been delineated.

Research Priority Setting

There are three essentially different bases for assigning importance to theory based research proposals. The first option is to create a technical research agenda. Technically based priorities are ones derived from the fact that the theory of control presented in this paper is highly speculative and in many particulars is either unorthodox, controversial or both. Important technical research is that which leads to the most effective and most comprehensive testing of the empirical viability of the proposed theory for interpreting the social action system of the school. For those who are skeptical about the validity of the theory, the technical basis for priority setting is the most important and useful. This technical basis for research agenda setting, however, does not move beyond testing the theory in order to apply it as a guide for interpreting or controlling actual student outcomes.

For those who are more convinced by the logic and the evidence used here to develop a theory, however, there are two other basis for deciding which research should be given highest priority. A policy based research agenda would ask how the theory can be used to analyze and interpret the impact of major policy and program options which have been important in recent political or administrative decisions. Recent major policy changes, such as those suggested by the terms: collective bargaining, competency

based education, mainstreaming of exceptional children, compensatory education, individualized instruction, desegregation, etc., could be taken as the establishing focus for research, and then theory based research designs could be developed which seek to interprat the impact of each major policy on the operations and outcomes of schooling.

Using policy significance as the criterion for setting a research agenda, probably offers the best chance of getting research findings which will materially affect the future of the schools. The problem, of course, is that research based on bad theory tends to be designed in such a way as to yield spurious results, making the use of results from such research destructive rather than supportive of effective policy. Hence, both the risks and the benefits of a policy based research agenda are higher. The crucial issue is just how much confidence in the proffered theory can we have? And that question reinforces the importance of good technical research.

A third basis for setting research priorities lies in what might be called <u>theoretical</u> research. If there is reasonable confidence in the major dimensions of the theory presented, it can offer a number of major hypotheses regarding student outcomes which should be put to the test. From the viewpoint of scientific knowledge, of course, this is the central purpose for theory construction, and is the approach to research agenda setting which is most likely to expand our basic understanding of school organizations and their effects.

It is easy to confuse <u>theoretical</u> research agenda setting with that based on <u>technical</u> considerations. The distinction, which is a matter of emphasis and priority not a matter of essential principles, rests on the fact that technical research is <u>internal</u> to the theory while theoretical

research seeks to apply the theory to the interpretation of important social phenomena. For example, whereas technical research would emphasize determining whether task performance is sensitive to power-based rewards or sanctions while role and goal formation depend upon the operation of authority-based fulfillment experiences (as claimed by the theory), theoretical research would give higher priority to determining whether differences in student outcomes are related to different mixtures of power and authority in student/teacher relationships within the school. That is, while technical research focuses on the relationships between various mediating variables, theoretical research examines the whole chain of relationships between orginating causal factors and ultimate outcome effects. Thus, while theoretical research is more comprehensive and more to the point of the NIE purposes in commissioning this paper, it is also more complex, and consequently, more time consuming and expensive to undertake. If major elements of the theory are doubtful, theoretical research will risk wasting resources trying to apply an erroneous framework which could have been tested on a narrower and more technical basis.

In addition to the technical policy and theoretical basis for research agenda building, there are several other less elegant but perhaps equally useful sources of guidance. A pragmatic agenda, for example, could be developed if we gave primary consideration to the question: what is of most importance to those who will be asked to provide the resources to fund this research agenda. And an incrementalist agenda would take a body of prior research, such as that reviewed in the opening sections of this paper, and ask how would hypotheses generated from the theory developed in this paper expand, refine or challenge this prior research.

In the remaining pages of this paper, I will ignore the pragmatic and incrementalist approaches and concentrate on describing one research study which would be identified as critical on the basis of each of the three major criteria described above.

The Research Agenda

Let me start with the description of a study which would be given high priority on the basis of theoretical considerations. There is nothing magical about the number three. That is simply all I have space or time to develop here. This study is certainly not the only, and perhaps not the most important, theoretical one--but it does illustrate how the theory of control developed in this paper should be applied to the study of student outcomes.

Study #1: The Impact of Power Based Rewards/Sanctions and Authority Based Fulfillment on Alternative Student Outcomes

This study is at the heart of the theory of control developed in Section II. The theory hypothesizes that the various modes of authority and power, mediated through task performance and role/goal specifications will either singly or in combination account for the major variations in student outcomes. If this hypothesis is borne out in research, we are well on our way to an understanding of how schools succeed in producing the outcomes they do.

I will skip the very substantial measurement problems confronting this study for the moment. Let me assume that operational measurements of the critical variables could be developed on the basis of either a careful search of available literature and/or adequate ethnographic field studies to be deloped later.

If measurement issues are ignored, the first design problem in this study is the definition of the dependent variable: "Alternative Student Outcomes." From the theory presented, schooling outcomes are to be distinguished in three ways, all of which have their origins in the expectation systems of students and societal groups. First, outcomes can be seen as either personal (i.e. related to the internal characteristics of individual students) or social (i.e. related to socially important attributes of students). Second, the alternative outcomes are distinguished on the basis of whether they refer to authority experiences or power experiences. And third the outcomes are to be distinguished by the particular modality (ies) of authority or power on which they are based. Figure 10 lists the sixteen alternative outcomes specified by the control theory presented earlier.

FIGURE 10

ALTERNATIVE STUDENT OUTCOMES

Individually Referenced Outcomes		Authority Power Modality		Socially Referenced Outcomes
1. Worth	—	Tradition	≻	5. Social Integration
2. Intimacy	—	Charisma	≻	6. Development
3. Adequacy	—	Expertise	≻	7. Competency
4. Security	—	Legality	≻	8. Responsibility
		Tradition		
9. Honor/Shame	—	Morality	≻	13. Prestige
10. Acceptance/Rejection	—	Psychology	≻	14. Challenge
11. Potency/Manipulation	—	Technique	≻	15. Opportunity
12. Autonomy/Coercion	—	Enforcement	≻	16. Status (rights)
		Morality		

In Figure 10 only outcomes numbered 13 through 16 represent new concepts not extensively discussed in Section II. These terms: prestige, challenge, opportunity and status (rights), will easily be recognized as ones describing the sorts of social experiences which are associated with possessing power resources of one's own in the combinations indicated in Figure 10.

The point of the proposed research is not to determine whether, for example, experiences of self-worth are associated with interactions based on traditional authority--or any of the other hypothesized experiences reflecting the operation of their respective modes of authority and power. Such studies are quite important, but are technical in nature aimed at theory verification. Rather, what is being proposed as the focus for research in this study is a determination of whether post-schooling student outcomes are dependent upon the prior existence within the school of the hypothesized modes of authority and power. That is, the theory suggests that students will more often achieve social integration in their post-school experiences if their schooling is characterized by effective usage of traditional and charismatic authority on the part of teachers.

Specifying the independent variables means, of course, development of adequate operational indicators for the use of each mode of power and authority. More importantly, however, the theory presented argues that the modes of power and authority must be focused on certain roles, goals and tasks in order to produce the hypothesized effects. Thus, the problem is to examine the operation of each mode of authority and power in relation to the appropriate tasks, and then to predict from these measurements of authority and power post-schooling outcomes.

The best research design for such a study is obviously a longitudinal panel study of students whose schooling experiences are systematically

varied in relationship to the uses of authority and power. Some cross-sectional analysis of differing student cohorts from schools in which a resonable case can be made for continuity of variation in power and authority patterns over time would, of course, shed some helpful light on these relationships over a shorter period of time. Beyond the measurement problems, the most difficult design problem is locating or creating schooling contexts with systematically different uses of authority and power. Explanatory analysis of a variety of experimental, religious and other alternative schools might, however, identify some major variations which could be studied fairly easily. Particularly in the area of pre-school programs, systematic differences appear to be large, making these programs natural candidates for early study.

Study #2: The Effect of Competency Based Education Policy on Student Outcomes

This second study is given its prominence on the research agenda on the basis of the policy criterion. Competency Based Education (CBE) has been the focus of major policy action in at least 21 states over the last few years (see Pipho, 1977). Any policy which promises the level of impact on student outcomes, gains as much political support and in implemented in as many different forms as CBE certainly deserves to be given high priority on a policy oriented research agenda.

The first problem in designing CBE research is to get a clear definition of the independent variable (i.e. a clear understanding of what CBE is and what it is not). For all of its widespread popularity, conceptualization of CBE has been remarkably fuzzy and imprecise. Above all, it has not been clear what the alternatives to competency as a basis for educational program development might be. Surely, CBE is not to be seen as the alternative to

incompentency based education. Although many students have been leaving school without acquiring the social, psychological, technical or intellectual competencies required for effective living in the contemporary adult world, this lack of competency is certainly not a serious objective of current program design. CBE advocates have emphasized the need for school policies and programs to give explicit attention to the preparation and certification of student outcome competencies--but what are the competing emphases for schooling based on other central concepts? The theory presented in this paper suggests that there are three major alternatives to CBE which could (and indeed have) become the central focus of educational policy and action. These alternatives are: Development Based Education, Social Integration Based Education and Responsibility Based Education (see the discussion of Figure 3). In the theory developed for this paper, competency bears the same relationship to certification as development does to instruction, social integration to socialization and responsibility to supervision. Each represents the connection between a <u>societal expectation</u> regarding schooling outcomes and the <u>organizational</u> response aimed at realizing that expectation.

Virtually all CBE policy actions have been dominated by an interest in the certification structures of the school. All appear to require an extensive revision of student testing and record keeping, key features of the certification process. CBE policy advocates assume that instruction is better if it leads to higher test scores, supervision is better if it organizes instruction to improve performance and socialization is better if it engages students more fully in the pursuit of higher competency scores.

Two problems provide a nagging sense of doubt in my thinking about the adoption of CBE, however, and suggest that it is important to undertake a systematic and comparative study of schooling programs which contrasts CBE programs with others which are clearly not competency based. First, as Brophy and Evertson (1974) remark, "some of the teacher behaviors associated with high learning gains may have interfered with the promotion of student self-concept of positive student attitudes." That is, being competency based may be directly in conflict with being socially integrated and/or developmentally focused in the educational system.

A second problem is suggested by Levin's (1975) review of alternative rationales behind desegregation. Levin identifies four quite different potential bases for evaluating the impact of schooling on adult life chances, and only one of them is consistent with an emphasis on competency-based evaluation and certification. He argues that schooling experiences may deliver not just "screening and certification" of competency, but may also be a major source of: socialization into useful work and living habits, enhanced development through acquisition of skills or cognitive achievement and social responsibility derived from direct experience with members of other cultures or social class groups. It may well be true, as Levin implies, that a statisfactory within school adjustment to supervision or socialization is, in the long run, at least as important as the delivery of measurable compentencies upon exit.

Delineation of the essential operational differences between education based on competency certification and that based on development, social integration and responsibility is no simple task. Careful ethnographic and exploratory analysis of the school structures which support each of these outcomes, however, should lay a suitable foundation for comparative

research on CBE and its major alternatives. We could begin by noting, for example, that CBE advocates criticize traditional schooling programs for subordinating grading (a certification process) to socialization or supervision functions, thus failing "troublemakers" and "misfits" while passing incompetent but cooperative children. Of course, developmentally based programs may give students an "A for effort" with complete awareness of what they are doing--determined to get the student to seek out and explore new curricular material they may reward him for doing so. For developmentalists, grades signal approval of student venturesomeness and effort, not just successful demonstration of competence. Or, to take another example, advocates of social-integration based education spearheaded the drive to do away with competency based promotion from one grade to another, and they are now supporting "mainstreaming" for the exceptional child and bilingual/bicultural education for non-english speaking children on the basis of social rather than intellectual values. Age rather than competency or ability grouping and integration of "different" children may well be at odds with optimal competency development.

To study these alternatives what is needed is a set of alternative schooling organizations in which each of the four major themes can be found to dominate. Although public schools are generally too homogeneous to provide suitable research sites. Some special school settings could be identified. They would likely involve complex mixtures of the four alternative educational bases, but juvenile probation camps or schools tend to be supervision/responsibility dominated, some private "free" schools are apparently development dominated, traditional public schools seem to be primarily social integration based and some competency based programs can be found in each of these institutional settings.

Study #3: The Impact of Authority and Power Mechanisms on Role/Goal Formation and Task Performance

This study represents the central concern of a technical research agenda. If the modalities of authority and power highlighted in the theory presented in this paper are to be defended as the fundamental building blocks for a theory of social control, it will have to be empirically demonstrated that they operate to control performance of the identified tasks and adoption of the roles and goals associated with those tasks as discussed in connection with Figures 6 and 7.

There are many different ways to undertake this research. I would begin on a relatively modest scale by trying to discover whether teachers and students can be shown to give attention to tasks in proportion to their recognition of the different authority experiences and/or rewards and sanctions. Thus, for example, do teachers and students who feel secure within the school context also accept the formal legal rules more readily and attend to the supervisory and certification tasks more fully? Similarly, does intimacy support attention to socialization and instructional tasks and accompany perceptions of charismatic authority?

If these sorts of relationships are established, we can next examine whether increased security (or intimacy, self-worth and adequacy) lead to decreased dependence on power-based rewards and sanctions to control behavior. Thus, for example, do students with high self-worth accept more fully the traditional values of the school and respond to supervision and socialization without a need for overt expressions of honor (i.e. recognition and esteem or approval and praise) or shame (i.e. ridicule or denunciation) to control their behavior.

At a still deeper level, we can examine the hypothesis that role and goal definitions are shaped by the authority experiences but are more resistive to re-definition through the application of power resources to control behavior. Thus we can determine whether students more readily identify and accept the instrumental goals of instructional programs when they feel a sense of personal adequacy, but tend only to respond to the specific assignments at hand rather than the goals of the instructional program if they feel inadequate but are able to accomplish results or reap identifiable payments or benefits from the completion of assigned work.

Among teachers, the theory presented here suggests that their relative emphasis on supervision, certification, socialization and instructional tasks will be directly affected by their own sense of personal authority as experienced in the sense of self-worth, intimacy, security and adequacy, and also by the availability of various rewards and sanctions. It can be further hypothesized that teachers with high legal and traditional authority bases will be less devoted to instruction and more to supervision, while those with relatively strong charismatic and expert authority bases will emphasize instruction over supervision. Similar shifts in teacher task performance can be expected to result from other combinations of strength or weakness in various authority modalities.

If it can be assumed that teachers who acquire an interest in and capacity for school administration are ones with relatively better success in supervisory tasks, while those who are recognized as outstanding teachers are ones with more instructional success, it can be predicted that upwardly mobil teachers have stronger traditional and legal authority bases (or at least better control over moral and enforcement power resources), while

those with outstanding instructional records will be higher in the possession of charisma and expertise (or with greater facility in the control of psychological and technical power resources).

Of course, careful examination of these topics confronts very complex measurement problems. How to tell when one mode of authority and/or power is being used rather than another in any given situation is far from obvious. Complicated measurement problems are made to be solved, however, and the potential benefits from understanding and explaining school outcomes based on the theory here seem well worth taking the time and trouble to discover suitable operational measurements for the concepts of authority and power as they are utilized in this paper. A series of ethnographic field studies focused on an exploratory analysis of teacher and student responses to authority and power seem eminently worth the initial investment, since application of operational indicators derived from such studies could lend tremendous explanatory power to the theory of control presented in this paper.

IV. Conclusion

In this paper I have attempted to develop a theory of social control which accounts for the linkage between evaluation processes and: 1) the structuring of personal, organizational and societal expectations regarding schools, 2) the embodiment of those expectations in tasks, roles and goals, 3) the availability of both rewards/sanctions and of fulfillment experiences for organizational members and 4) the fundamental modalities of authority and power which serve as the bases for control. Following an overall description of the theory, preliminary notes on a possible future research agenda were offered.

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